



Second Anniversary Issue**

Volume III, Number 5

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MIDWEST

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Fatherland Active In American Politics

Push Rightists, Goldwater Election

*EXPOSED: "NONE DARE CALL IT TREASON"
AND "A TEXAN LOOKS AT LYNDON"*

EDITORIAL

THE days of the German Bund and other subversive Nazi organizations are too fresh in our memory to view them only as history. Today West Germany is our ally, however; and we implicitly assume that even the German-Americans who had gone astray in days gone by, now join with all citizens in trying to create a healthier and more democratic society. Andrew B. Kondich proves otherwise.

A future citizen, Kondich worked as editor for German newspapers in Chicago and Milwaukee. The scope of his accusations demanded that we deviate from our usual format, allotting as much space as necessary to fully document — to the point of tedium — the charges. We had to omit our columnists (Hubert H. Humphrey, Harry Mark Petrakis, S. K. Oberbeck, Robert Farnsworth); and our features (Out Of Focus, voting records, book reviews, poems, etc.)

Kondich makes two points: the infiltration of the German-American community by the radical rightists and former Nazis, and the financing of these efforts by foreign interests. The first is odious; the second may be criminal. The Foreign Agents Registration Act requires firms and persons — other than diplomats — who represent a foreign government or other foreign interests in the U.S. to register with the Justice Department. Violations can bring up to five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

Following a 1962 study by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of lobbyists in the U.S. representing foreign interests and the extent to which they attempted to influence U.S. policies, Chairman J. W. Fulbright said there had been "an increasing number of incidents involving attempts by foreign governments, or their agents, to influence the conduct of American foreign policy by techniques outside the normal diplomatic channels." It appears that here too is a crude attempt to subvert American opinion and policy.

TRYING to understand the alternatives which face the American electorate, we came across the three personal experiences which make up this issue. Each experience also represents a choice: the mother who decides to let her son grow up and out of his misconceptions; the free-lance writer who decides to know before she judges; the future citizen who decides that the workings of democracy take precedence over earning a living and even threats at night.

This issue also celebrates our second anniversary. Next to the Kennedy Memorial Issue, we consider this and the next issue — both special editions on the far right — of true significance at this time. Their importance is not dependent upon the coming election. The battle of exposing the fallacy and danger of the far right has only begun and will be carried on far beyond the expected defeat of Senator Barry Goldwater.

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Volume III, Number 5

FOCUS/Midwest

Volume III, Number 5

Three Personal Statements

A Mother Waits and Hopes Page 4

*In a letter to the editor, Mrs. William
Westfield, a third generation Republican,
tells of her son's flirtation with the
far right.*

A Writer Finds Her AnswerPage 6

*"I was curious to find out what the
ultraconservative believed," and so Mrs.
Binnie N. Simon joined in the fun. It
wasn't long before she stopped smiling.*

A Future Citizen Declares His Loyalty Page 10

*As editor of three German-American news-
papers, Andrew B. Kondich tried his best
to serve his readership and his adopted
country. This was possible but not in
the interest of his superiors. Wondering,
the editor investigated. He came across
a scandal which will match the operations
of the pre-World War II German Bund.*

Two Book Reviews

Storm or Truth? Page 19

*The official report of the National
Committee for Civic Responsibility on
"None Dare Call It Treason."*

A Study Of Unhospitalized Paranoia Page 24

*Book Review Editor A. C. Greene of the
Dallas Times-Herald Analyzes
"A Texan Looks At Lyndon"*

A Letter

The following letter by Mrs. Wm. Westfield of Southern Illinois, explaining the founding, flowering, and ultimate floundering of Liberty, Inc. is in many ways the most touching article we have come across in our study of the far right. Not only her patience with her son, Michael, but also the insight she has gained from her son's adventures, restores an element of hope in the outpouring of hate and venom by the scores of extremist groups.

I'M not sure how to start except to tell you that my relationship with the founder of 'Liberty, Inc.' is more unbilical than anything. It was founded by Michael Westfield, better known among his peers as Bud, a darned good guard on the high school football team, an enthusiastic student of things he was interested in and a very dull boy about the more mundane subjects in his high school curriculum, a most gregarious person with acquaintances and friends from age 4 to 80, and a human curiosity bump about things philosophical, theological, political, or psychological.

"All of these qualities sort of came to a focus without my even suspecting a thing when Mike — because of a friendship with several local politicians and an enthusiastic investigation of the Catholic Church as opposed to his own Presbyterian Church — somewhere along the line also met the writings of William F. Buckley, Jr., and Billy James Hargis. All of his enthusiasm focused on politics as a cure-all of all the things he had noticed were out of joint and needed curing. At this time he was 16. He began to correspond with all who would answer back. Billy Hargis is a prolific letter writer and the word Christian gave an aura of absolute truth to his publications. Hargis kept

asking for money but he never inquired about age so that he would know about his fan's inability to help him.

"From there Mike's name got on list after list of right-wing persons. And all of them had direct and simple solutions to all the problems that Mike had seen and in addition to that were able to point out more and more problems, all of them more and more shattering and disastrous. And the blame for all of these was limited to Liberals or Communists with which the country apparently abounded. Mike was in seventh heaven. Here was the simplification and all he needed to do was aid. We let him go headlong into this, for it seemed to us he could do no harm, might learn a lot and there just did not seem to be a way to head off all of that enthusiasm without also falling into the category of left-wing-radical. (And that to describe a third generation loyal Republican!!)

"He became acquainted with Barry Goldwater along about this time through his 'autobiographical' books and of course all these right-wing groups recommended him highly. Mike expanded his letter writing to include everyone who wrote to him and who would write back. They were very good about keeping in touch with him with personal letters, pamphlets etc. etc. And you must remember he had all the political naivete of his youth. They all impressed him and appealed to his 'let's get something done' point of view.

"My brother is teaching at a Southern university and that spring Mike went to the Mardi Gras in New Orleans. He had a wonderful time, but also had some spare time to reconnoiter and try out his political views. The Phil Courtneys are there and of course he tried to find them. He also held many impromptu interviews with total strangers both Negro and white on the subject of race!! It is a wonder he didn't get his teeth shoved down

his throat and I have always believed that the saving grace he has is his unquestioned love of the human being. In New Orleans he found a place of right-wing enthusiasts who would print calling cards for him for very little. He had them print the Liberty, Inc. cards. Until then he had been just plain Mike Westfield but after that we were on lists and lists and you could almost tell what sort of mail was in the envelope by the addressee on the cover. And the mail got to the point where I found myself protesting. We got Minutemen mail from Southern Illinois. We got mail from all sorts of rallies and meetings of the John Birch Society. We finally even got on the mailing list of George Lincoln Rockwell. Some of the mail was frightening. Recipes for homemade bombs! Articles on assembling of machine guns! Places to send to buy military equipment! I debated protesting to someone — but to whom? I, at least, knew what was coming and could contest with Mike in honest debate about it. As one sort of antidote, I personally subscribed to some Labor Party and Socialist papers and even made inquiries about the *Daily Worker* so that he could see that extremes of either side are ridiculous. The founder of Liberty, Inc., never had any group to collect dues from, and never had any headquarters, and never had any political influence at all.

"About this time a good friend of his in high school who was also enthusiastically participating in this sort of thing started mimeographing a small paper of opinion and thought. He used the high school equipment. He was very extreme-right in thought. One of the high school teachers protested to higher authorities that in her opinion the boy was printing unadulterated Communist propaganda and should be stopped. Well, he was stopped from the printing but nothing was done about exposing him to more history and more economics, etc. so now he is enrolled at the Univer-

A Mother Waits and Hopes

sity of Illinois and he still prints this little sheet and has developed a very segregationist view which he expounds. He has met and been impressed by the Prof. Revilo Oliver who made such a ruckus in right-wing politics — It all seems such a shame and such a waste of a young mind that was just searching for answers.

ABOUT a year after the birth of Liberty, Inc., a speaker named, I think, Gordon Hall, came to the campus of Western Illinois University, (Macomb, Ill.). Since he was to speak on the fallacies of the right-wing, Mike and I drove over. After the lecture during the question session Mike arose with (of all things) the John Birch Blue Book in his hand to ask about a reference in the book. In answer, Mr. Hall used sarcasm and anger instead of sensible thought. I was disappointed for Mike was just beginning seriously to question the Mt. Sinai approach of the right-wing and beginning to want to know the other side of the issue. But to give Mr. Hall credit, he was very gracious and took about five of these young persons with him to his hotel room after the meeting finally broke up and talked and talked. If there was a beginning to the end of Liberty, Inc. this might have been it, for Mike came home very impressed with the ability of the opposite side to make its own point without name-calling and Communist-pointing and motive-questioning. Another thing that happened that evening was that Mike met personally for the first time a very radical Birchite who continued to correspond with him and kept revealing himself to be a bit more rabid and a bit more Neanderthal with each letter. As Mike continued to read and question and grow, the Right Wing seemed to shrink and warp. For his mother this was a very comforting sight!

"All through his senior year in high

school he kept up the file system, the letter writing, and the discussion. There is enough provincialism in a small Southern Illinois town that a great deal of this right-wing thought fits right in. What bothered me most was the idea that the end justified the means and this I disputed with him bitterly. Through it all, Liberty, Inc. had discussions, file cabinets, books but no members.

After he graduated, he joined the Navy. He had always wanted to do this before attending college because it seemed like the sensible order of things to him. He has been in the Navy for two years now. All the mail addressed to Liberty, Inc. comes to our address and I generally leaf through it and throw it away unless it is particularly intriguing. We still hear occasionally from Rockwell. Billy Hargis is desperately "poor" and sells all sorts of things from stickers to records to books to summer camps and appeals to Liberty, Inc. for all of them. William F. Buckley, Jr., advised Mike for the last time that his subscription to *National Review* has run out and has given him up for lost. We are still on all the Goldwater lists for appeals and thanks to my subscribing to the Socialist and Labor party papers, we receive appeals from all of the other end of the spectrum, too!

"As to the founder of the group — with his impulsive friendliness and his total curiosity about the human being — he is having the time of his life in the Navy. He has been stationed on the West Coast and in spite of being in the cradle of Goldwaterism he has learned that there is more to Cuba than sending in the Marines to turn on all faucets (he is stationed with a Marine group). He knows that to be a Negro is an ordeal and has not only helped with money to support some of the CORE work but participated in one of their picketing projects. He has found a good friend who makes sandals and

leathercraft and lives a very gentle life nonconforming in the midst of conformity. He has spent a good deal of time investigating coffee shops and has decided that the Ash Grove in Los Angeles is the very best. He has a collection of records of Woody Guthrie and Pete Seegar and Bob Dylan and their like that would insure a cross burning for him if he had a front lawn. He is very interested in politics and pleased me clear out of proportion by criticizing some politician because although he agreed with the end the politician was aiming for, he could not condone the means! He can talk quite rationally about Democratic and Republican aims and compare the two and not always agree with either. And more to the point, he can remember with quiet laughter the ectoplasmic group called Liberty, Inc.

"Finally, how on earth could I have been exposed to all of this and see Goldwater accept all their help and be foolish enough to support him in the 1964 election? I just cannot do it.

Mrs. William Westfield
Illinois

"P.S. A more frightening incident involved the two 'charter' members of the American Nazi Party of Galesburg, Illinois. They were two boys: 13 and 14. They were inducted and thoroughly indoctrinated for some time. They were not able to recruit new members but at the suggestion of party headquarters — either real or implied — they harrassed local Jews slightly a time or two and then culminated their 'purge' by throwing home-made bombs into the new synagogue in Galesburg. It would have burned down but for an eagle-eyed citizen seeing a small blaze. They were saved from legal retribution by the head of the local synagogue. He was a remarkable man who saw the proper culprit as the American Nazi Party and not young, immature children.

*"I was Alice in an alien country
where everyone spoke an idiomatic
tongue; I listened carefully to
the speech but hadn't the slightest
idea when to laugh or applaud."*

A Writer Finds Her Answer

Binnie N. Simon

I became an ultraconservative by accident. For three weeks, I remained an ultraconservative by intent. Like Alice, I stepped through the looking glass and found a world turned upsidedown.

Because I had heard and read so much about ultraconservatives, and because I had watched the Republican convention with interest to unease to disgust, I was curious to find out for myself what the ultraconservative believed and who he was. On July 24th, I attended my first meeting: the convention of the National Conservative Council at Chicago's Conrad Hilton, to hear Tom Anderson, publisher of the *Arkansas Farmer* and national Birch Councilor.

There were no little old ladies in tennis shoes, no wild-eyed crackpots with flying hair, nor an overwhelming number of the stone-faced grey-flannel suiters so prevalent at the Republican convention. The speech was folksy, tired, and complete with stale jokes. John Foster Dulles was a prime target, along with Adlai Stevenson, and President Johnson. The civil rights movement, the speakers said, "is Communist inspired," Eleanor Roosevelt "belonged to 62 Communist front organizations," and

Huntley and Brinkley were renamed "Frontley and Pinkley."

I was Alice in an alien country where everyone spoke an idiomatic tongue: I listened carefully to the speech but hadn't the slightest idea when to laugh or applaud. I found these people "curiouser and curiouser," for "the Hatter's remark seemed to her to have no sort of meaning in it, and yet it was certainly English." And like Alice, I wanted to know who these people were, what they meant, and why.

I found Alex Hudgins, the convention organizer, to ask if there was anyone from my own area with whom I might talk. Mr. Hudgins was the White Rabbit — a little man scurrying busily on his errands, rather bewildered by it all. He referred me to Mr. Wayne Olsen, an area coordinator for the NCC from Wisconsin.

I explained my interest in the conservative movement to Mr. Olsen, who recommended We, The People and the Birch Society. He offered to introduce me to a Mr. Reiss, a Birch Society area coordinator from Wisconsin. So I would have no trouble entering the remaining session, Mr. Olsen obtained an official observer's badge for me. I was in!

The badge became Alice's bottle labeled "Drink me." I put it on and became an ultraconservative.

THAT afternoon, I met Mr. Reiss. He was young — possibly thirty — clean cut, with a fresh open face, well dressed, intelligent, and enthusiastic: the All-American boy. (I was to find that the "front men" for the Birch Society — those who admitted membership openly to provide contact for prospective members — could all be described in the same way.)

I found myself receiving one of the most polished sales-pitches I had ever encountered. I was told that all other organizations were fumbling and accomplishing little or nothing, and did I know the Birch Society had fifty-two full-time employees? All other organizations were violently anti-Negro and anti-Jewish. The Birch Society believes (after a covert glance at my name tag — I was under an assumed name) that while most of the convicted Communists and traitors have been Jews, it doesn't necessarily mean that all Jews are Communists.

Mr. Reiss gave me an address in

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Massachusetts to write for the name of my area coordinator. For \$1.00 I could get an introductory packet of material, or, for \$3.00, the packet and the Blue Book.

That afternoon, I attended a meeting of the NCC which was closed to the public and the press. The previous day, the NCC executive committee had publicly endorsed Goldwater, Miller, and the Republican platform. Some of the delegates expressed dissatisfaction because the entire convention had never voted on — or even discussed — this endorsement. They were informed that the decision had been made by the council in accordance with its rules. I asked eleven of the delegates who the council and executive committee were and how they had been elected. None knew and each assumed that the rest of the delegates had voted.

The convention divided itself into two groups: the council members who sat together and knew exactly what they were doing, and the delegates who were in utter confusion. It was obvious that the delegates were being “had,” but they didn’t know how or why or by whom.

Theoretically, the National Conservative Council is a rallying point for constitutional conservatives to unite by setting up a council of conservative groups in each state. These state groups may then be represented on the national level. When I inquired what groups were represented, I was told “none.”

Under the rules of the NCC, as listed in the program, it had been possible for the council to be “elected” at a meeting in Richmond earlier in the year, at which evidently no-one had been present except the members who became the council. Since the rules provide that any member can be ejected by the decision of the council and that one individual can represent an entire state, the council was at all times in complete control.

The council was created by 150 delegates at the Richmond meeting as an on-going effort to unite conservatives in a third party movement unless one of the established parties could be captured. When the articles of association were written, apparently in February 1964, the council deplored the two established parties and “professional politicians” but envisioned working with one party to nominate a conservative candidate. By the time it met — after the Republican convention — the thunder had been stolen by the GOP conven-

tion. All they could do was to endorse Goldwater and to swallow the GOP platform. This step was not made unanimously, however.

The dissidents objected to the endorsement of the Republican platform. They wanted the convention to issue a fourteen-point resolution which included a restatement of the sanctity of property rights, a demand for bringing prayers and God back into our schools, and a plea for the repeal of the Tenth Amendment, the last of the Bill of Rights.

The executive committee of the council had matters well in hand. No vote was taken. The meeting ended with a splinter group calling a session to form a third party. Ironically, the council members were as “dedicated” as the defectors. During the meeting I spoke with four of the ten members of the executive committee, and all enthusiastically recommended the Birch Society as the only truly effective organization. (Mr. Olsen, from Wisconsin, was a member of the executive committee.)

The key to understanding the council was the Goldwater nomination. The council wanted to ensure that no one upset matters before the elections. They trusted Goldwater irrespective of the candidate’s expedient statements such as condemning Welch. The council members were the movers and the delegates were the sheep — a division painfully obvious to anyone but the sheep. The movers never lost control for a moment, despite their lack of numbers. They were confident and almost contemptuous of the entire proceedings, but they never deviated from either the form or the plan. They showed no burning fanaticism, no emotional dedication, as did the rest of the delegates. They were determined to do a job, and they did it.

With this beginning, and my invitation to join the Birch Society, my curiosity became overwhelming. I decided that for a short time I would remain an ultraconservative.

I had once attended a meeting in Evanston of the Citizens for American Security and had heard Congressman Utt, a California Birchite, and Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly speak. I checked on other program presentations and, from their content, knew that the program chairman (at least) was a Birchite. Since I have known people whose publicly expressed views on the Birch Society have resulted in

2:00 a.m. threatening phone calls, packages containing pink shirts (always the wrong size), and obscene letters, I rented a room in Evanston under my assumed name and then called the man who was the organizer, past president, and present program chairman of the Citizens for American Security.

I explained that I was interested in working for Goldwater’s election and in the Birch Society. He said that he was not a member of the Birch Society, that the “Citizens” was just a public information group with open membership and that its officers were publicly listed. Would I like to be put on the mailing list?

I said yes but because I was interested in working for Goldwater, I was still interested in the Birch Society. He repeated that he was not a member and that he had formed the non-profit Citizens group because the job of education being done was so important.

I agreed and said I would be happy to work for the group, but that this was a long-range job. With the election so close, I wanted to do something immediately.

He said that he was not a member of the Birch Society but had hundreds of close friends who were and, of course, it *was* the most effective group. (His voice changed, became suddenly brisk and business-like.) When one joined the Birch Society, it was a whole new experience requiring a strong sense of purpose and dedication. Although he was not a member, he would be glad to give me his advice on the various groups. He asked me to stop at his office the following day.

Mr. Garrett (in order not to jeopardize his professional standing, his real name is not used) and I went out to a nearby restaurant because he was unable to talk in his office (a large brokerage firm). He began by again assuring me that he was not a Birch member and then gave me a detailed account of how successful he was. (Similarly, my conversation with Wayne Olsen at the convention had begun with a completely spontaneous account of how unimportant he had been until he became an ultraconservative, and how, in just a few short years, he had become “very important, and now *everyone* knows me.”)

Mr. Garrett explained that of course the “Citizens” and the Birch Society worked in two different areas, and of all the anti-Communist action groups,



the Birch Society was the only effective one. Before I could join, however, I would have to read widely to be sure I agreed with its positions, and I should start with: "The Blue Book," "The Politician," "The Life of John Birch," and some copies of the Birch magazine, *American Opinion*.

I asked his opinion of the Pro-American Forum, another "anti-Communist" organization which specializes in anti-Jewish and anti-Negro hate literature. (The Forum has put out literature attacking Goldwater as a Jew.) He felt it was too anti-Negro and anti-Jewish, and "just because most convicted Communists and traitors have been Jews, it doesn't necessarily mean that all Jews are Communists. There probably isn't an international Jewish conspiracy, and, while there is one chance in a hundred that there is, in fighting Communism we would be fighting this anyway." He also had some Jewish friends who were as good conservatives as himself.

I had jumped into this rabbit-hole without too much thought and had to improvise when he began asking me about my background. With silent apologies to my husband and children, I said I was a childless divorcee who had gone through a lot and didn't want to be reminded and therefore wouldn't talk about it. I became a non-practising Episcopalian. The combination was too much for him. Several times during that and following conversations he "fixed me with a piercing stare" and told me that to be a member of the Birch Society one must be "of good moral character." Since the Birch Society feels it desirable for members to have a church affiliation, he advised me to start going to church immediately — that the minister was a good Goldwater conservative, the surroundings were very pleasant, and I would meet a good class of people. When I protested that I would want to know why I was going to church, he assured me that that wasn't necessary, that I would want to get married again. "You don't want to marry a bum, do you? You want to marry a man of substance, with standing in the community, and where will you meet a man like that except in church?"

Joining the Birch Society, however, would be like undergoing "a religious experience." (He used this phrase repeatedly.) I would undergo a transformation and would feel a complete sense of dedication such as I had

never known. It would make a new person of me. (He had questioned me closely about my past life and interests and felt that I was floundering, looking for a purpose and a new interest in life.) Mr. Garrett said he had made hundreds of close friends through the Society, and I would too.

He pulled out a rather tattered clipping from the letters column of the local newspaper and asked if I knew the writer, a Mrs. Patricia Crittenden, whose address was next door to the house in which I was living. I denied it and read the clipping, written following a "Citizens" meeting, which asked why, since the subject matter was so controversial, there had been no question period following the meeting. Honestly puzzled at his obvious "cat about to pounce" attitude I asked if she were for or against.

"Against, of course! This woman is very clever — she's obviously an old hand at this sort of thing. You see how tricky she's been — she never comes right out and says she's against us, but she gets the idea across that we're wrong. This is the cleverest, most insidious kind of propaganda. She's a very dangerous woman. She's obviously a dedicated Communist, or at the very least, the dupe of one who wrote the letter for her."

I did know Patricia Crittenden. She is a tall, charming Englishwoman who is thrilled to be receiving her citizenship this year, who has no more

acquaintance with or interest in politics than my children, and who was deeply moved at a township annual meeting by watching the democratic processes in action.

Although he had never admitted to being a Birch member, Mr. Garrett told me his first contact with the Society had been through a lecture series at the Flick-Reedy Auditorium in 1961, chaired by Stillwell Conner and featuring Tom Anderson and Clarence Manion, Birch national councilor. He had been invited to the series by "someone I knew at church," a common method of Birch contact.

Finally, after more questions about my background, he offered to put me in touch with Roger Morrison, section leader for Evanston, to see that I was invited to a meeting with Norman Thomas, who holds gatherings for new members in the Chicago area once a month. He invited me to go along to the once-a-month lectures at Flick-Reedy. He also offered to see that I received an invitation to a meeting of the Conservative Club, which holds monthly meetings in downtown Chicago, and of which he is a director. On my continuing reluctance to talk about my personal background, he insisted that sooner or later I would have to tell him about my divorce and family, and, while he knew it was painful for me, I could not be accepted until my background was known. He assured me that once I had given him enough

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OUR ERROR

In the last issue, Vol. 3, No. 4, the statement that "Granite City Steel along with one of its officers had previously been indicted on charges of conspiring to fix prices in the steel castings industry," is mistaken and without foundation and referred to a different company. We are sorry.

The Editor

information to check on, no-one else need know as I would be accepted on his recommendation. It was always possible, he told me, that I was a Communist trying to infiltrate. Because he was concerned about my being self-supporting, he offered to get the books he had recommended and mail them to me.

That evening, someone came to deliver the books in person. I was not at "home," and, after questioning the neighborhood children about "the single lady living upstairs," he refused to leave the package with my landlady. He did not come back.

The following morning, I arranged to meet Mr. Garrett for coffee to pick up the books. He decided our meeting place, and, while it may have been only coincidence, each one of our meetings was at a different place. And each time we "accidentally" met a friend of his who just happened to be a member of the Birch Society. It was during this meeting that I began to be afraid.

THE surroundings were commonplace enough — an ordinary lunch-and-coffee-break restaurant near the financial district. The faces across the table were commonplace too: a slender, sensitive, slightly balding brown-eyed man of about forty, and a fresh, innocent-faced, sandy-haired, crew-cut boy-man in perhaps his late twenties. I watched, entranced, as that fresh young mouth, in a face which looked as if it were talking about the difference between coffee and tea, told me that "There are only two kinds of liberals. There are many people who call themselves liberal who are really ignorant, who have just never bothered to read or think about what they believe, and don't understand what a liberal is. And there are the active, working liberals — who are either out-and-out Communists or Communist dupes. The difference between the liberal and the conservative is that the conservative believes what he does because he has thought, and read, and educated himself. Being a conservative is a process of continuing education, and you must read all the time and keep educating yourself." Reading material, I was advised, comes from the John Birch Society's American Opinion bookstore or other ultraconservative sources and includes only ultraconservative material.

Again I was pushed to give an account of myself — my ex-husband's name, my former address, the names of former friends. I was reminded by

Mr. Garrett that he had once been an investigator and knew all of the techniques of finding out about people, with or without their cooperation. I foolishly allowed myself to blurt out a former address made up on the spur of the moment. I felt that this would be harmless since I still had not given my ex-husband's name and was supposed to be using my maiden name. Unfortunately, as I was informed at our next meeting, Mr. Garrett had checked. The address I had chosen was in the middle of a school-yard.

Although the packet I was given contained the "Blue Book," "The Life of John Birch," and "Color, Communism and Common Sense," both men recommended further reading material. (A typical symptom of conversion fever: everyone has a reading list to recommend.)

The rest of the meeting, which was identical to the following one — except for the extent to which they were checking me — was predictable and could have been scripted word-by-word by anyone familiar with the Blue Book. (The gentlemen we met

Continued on Page 25

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"A Future Citizen Declares His Loyalty"

Fatherland Active In American Politics

Andrew B. Kondich

THIS writer accuses West Germany of trying to influence American politics and the American presidential elections in favor of Senator Barry Goldwater and of the far right. Behind this interference in the domestic political affairs of the United States are several West German political organizations financially supported by the Bonn government. An analysis of series of events and developments gives the impression that the Washington Embassy and the Chicago Consulate of West Germany are involved in this monumental effort.

German-American organizations and newspapers in this country have close relationships with official German representatives and have sharply intensified these communications during the present campaign. American patriots who remember the patterns of foreign interference in U.S. politics by the Nazi Bund and the subversive Einheitsfront organizations not quite a generation ago are puzzled by these new developments. They are also horrified that a number of German-Americans who were leading and active members and/or supporters of the subversive Bund and Einheitsfront have suddenly reappeared on the scene of the German-American political and social life and are actively trying to grab the leadership of this nationality group, to found new organizations, and to play an active role in U.S. politics.

Participating in the foreign pro-Goldwater and pro-extremist action are several refugee and expellee organizations operating in West Germany which, albeit nominally independent, are in fact financially supported by the West German Government, a fact which neither Bonn nor these organizations are denying. In the months preceding the presidential elections several of these organizations have expanded their operations to influence the German-American nationality group in the U.S. and American opinion in favor of Goldwaterism and extremism.

ONE of these organizations is the Council of Sudeten Germans (*Sudetendeutscher Rat*) in Munich, whose headquarters are at Triftstrasse 1. This organization used to publish *Sudetendeutscher Artikeldienst* (Sudeten German Press Service) whose main purpose was rightly or wrongly called, "hate peddling against Czechoslovakia and the Slavic nations." Suddenly, in this U.S. election year, the name of this service was changed to *West und Ost* (West and East); Czechoslovakia almost disappeared from the subjects and almost 80 percent of the contents was devoted to the glorification of Barry Goldwater and the aims of the American far right. The bulletin was systematically sent to all German-American newspapers in the U.S., to all German-American societies, and even to some individuals who had not requested it. Letters were sent to

German-American newspapers urging them in the name of the common cause to reprint the contents of the bulletin, edited by Dr. Walter Becher, a member of the West German Parliament.

In *West und Ost* No. 9 (May 8, 1964), the German-Americans are urged to participate in politics in order to influence American foreign policy. The bulletin points out the influence of the Polish-Americans, the Hellenic-Americans, and the Irish and implores the German-Americans to emulate them so that they can influence the foreign policy of the U.S. in the same manner as the Greek nationality group has influenced it in the Cyprus question. In the same issue an article on U.S. racial problems unfavorable to the Negroes is published along with one entitled "The Other America" by Robert Taft, Jr.

Other recent issues featured articles and comments by Senator Barry Goldwater and other ultraconservatives, among them Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, Rep. Katherine St. George, Rep. John R. Pillion and, last but not least, J. Edgar Hoover. In order to discredit Gov. William Scranton, *West und Ost* No. 12 (June 26, 1964) informed its readers that Scranton was supported by Moscow and the Communists.

The *West und Ost* publishers fervently hope that the American newspapers in the German language will publish such news and comments. They know that most of these newspapers do not use the services of the big news agencies and are glad when ready-made German translations of news and comments are made available to them free of charge. Similar hopes are nurtured by the organization of German expellees from South-Eastern Europe who call themselves the Danube Swabians. Their weekly newspaper, *Der Donauschwabe*, is also sent without charge to German-American newspapers. This writer, then editor-in-chief of three German American newspapers in the Midwest, was also urged by the Danube Swabian organization in Germany to reprint from *Der Donauschwabe*, a request which he had to refuse because many of the articles were unduly concerned with American political affairs. To make them available to American readers would have meant trying to influence them in favor of the interests of a foreign power, West Germany. This writer was not prepared to act as a foreign agent without having been duly registered as such. The political aims of the organization publishing *Der Donauschwabe* parallels those of the West German Government. No information about the financial sources of the service is available.

For the same reasons this writer had to turn down a tremendous amount of printed material sent to his editorial office by the Press Department of the German Consulate General in Chicago and by government offices of West Germany. This material contained mostly crude German propaganda, advocating the views of the West German Government. This brings us to the activities of the West German diplomatic and consular officers in the United States.

The Tireless Herr Bloemer

DURING the early postwar years the German diplomatic and consular officers performed their duties as inconspicuously as possible. They knew that German atrocities in World War II were not forgotten. They limited their lobbying and propaganda activities to duly paid and registered foreign agents, to some contacts in the news



ANDREW L. KONDICH is the former editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost* (Chicago) and of the Milwaukee *Deutsche Zeitung* (Milwaukee), the only two daily newspapers in the German language in the Midwest, as well as the weekly *SONNTAG-POST*.

media world, and to some old connections with the German-American nationality groups. To facilitate these connections, the last Chancellor of the Nazi Consulate General in Chicago, a certain Richard Kleindienst — a man who was one hundred per cent faithful to his government then and now and who knew intimately countless former American adherents of the subversive Nazi Bund and Einheitsfront — was reappointed chancellor of the new Chicago Consulate General of democratic West Germany. Despite his past, the U.S. government was generous enough to accept Kleindienst as *persona grata*.

This phase of discreet and circumspect German activity was abruptly ended after John F. Kennedy became U.S. president. While Kleindienst began to intensify his contacts and to appear more often at different German-American gatherings as guest and even as speaker, another remarkable man, Dr. Klaus Bloemer, was named in 1962 Press Attache of the German Consulate General in Chicago. At once he developed a extensive program whose physical scope and intensity could be compared only to that of the last Nazi Consul General in Chicago, Baer. The spirit of these activities, can best be judged by the fruits they have borne.

Bloemer, who was press attache at the German Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, before coming to Chicago, was preceded by his reputation. The Iraqi press had often connected him with the activities of the West German Intelligence. There were Iraqis who objected to his activities and asked the Government of Iraq to declare him *persona non grata*. Others were astonished that Bloemer, originally a Berlin physician, had left his profession in order to devote himself to West Berlin local politics and then to consular service.

Bloemer tried first unsuccessfully, as described above, to influence the German-American community in the mid-west through the daily newspaper *Abendpost*. This writer, then editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost*, had to turn down numerous invitations extended through Bloemer in order to put an end to crude attempts of trying to influence this writer's politics. This was to provoke the enmity of the government of West Germany; but for an editor and hopeful future citizen who wanted to be loyal to the United States, there was no other alternative.

Bloemer began to look for other media outlets. He got in touch with a German radio announcer in Chicago, who was not yet an American citizen. This German agreed to let Bloemer speak every Sunday during his radio hour under the assumed name of Dr. Klaus Frei. Bloemer's comments were highly political: the line he wanted his listeners to advocate was that of West Germany which was not necessarily identical with American foreign policy. The listeners were not informed that Dr. Klaus Frei was himself a foreigner, a diplomat of a foreign power trying to influence them. They believed that a fellow German-American was speaking.

This brazen attempt to influence American citizens to adopt the views of a foreign power could have lasted indefinitely had not a patriotic American, Richard Sperber, discovered the identity of Dr. Klaus Frei. Assuming that Bloemer might deny his activities and duck behind his diplomatic immunity, Sperber appeared with a photographer in the rooms of the radio station during one of Bloemer's speeches and photographed him talking. Copies of these photographs were sent to the government of West Germany accompanied by Sperber's energetic protests. Bonn ordered Bloemer to stop his radio comments.

After this second defeat, Bloemer and other members of the German Consulate cultivated numerous German-



American associations and societies in the midwest, showing particular interest in those that were known as gathering places of extreme rightists. Bloemer established connections with Theodore W. Miller, one of the twelve endorsers of the John Birch Society in Illinois and president of the German Club of Chicago. The organization also had other Birchites on its board of governors as well as among its membership. Bloemer appeared at one of the meetings of the Society and spoke for one hour, criticizing numerous aspects of U.S. foreign policy on Germany. While certain members objected afterwards and felt that the German Club of Chicago should be more careful in its relations with the German consulate, there were others who enthusiastically approved Bloemer's views. So did other extremists in other German-American associations where Bloemer appeared. One of these societies, the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.) deserves particular attention; its activities will be described later.

Bloemer also established close relations with the board of directors of the Chicago German Day Association and its president Joseph Gies, a sympathetic Chicago businessman advocating moderate views whose closest friend and adviser, however, happens to be Dr. Otto Willumeit, the former Chicago area leader of the Nazi Bund.

The Chicago German Day Festival has traditions that are vividly remembered. The best president it ever had was a Jewish man who had come from Vienna, Leopold Saltiel. But after 1933 Jews disappeared from its board of directors. According to a statement of Municipal Judge John Gutknecht, published July 18, 1942 by the *Chicago Daily News*:

at the 1940 German Day Festival the swastika flag was displayed, the German consul spoke, the Nazi salute was given and the Nazi rallying song, the "Horst Wessel Lied," was played and sung . . . Hans Haupt, the father of one of the eight saboteurs who were landed with explosives from two Nazi submarines on the East Coast, was one of the directors of the German Day Festival here. The son, Herbert Haupt, after he and three others were landed in Florida, visited his parents in Chicago, told them of his mission and received aid from his father.

In the summer of 1963 Herr Bloemer and other German diplomatic and consular officers visited and spoke at the Chicago German Day Festival. The Nazi flag was missing this time; however, on the second afternoon of the Festival a group of drunken visitors sang the "Horst Wessel Lied" again. While President Gies and the dignitaries of the German Day Association have in no way inspired this unfortunate episode, the fact remains that a number of German-Americans, have not forgotten the traditions of Nazi Germany.

The Fredericks Affair

BLOEMER'S unfortunate episode on the radio was not entirely forgotten when another memorable affair rocked U.S.-German relations. On June 10, 1964 an article entitled "Harassment by W. German Consul Ripped - Interference Charged by Chamber Official" appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*. The *Tribune*, which indeed cannot be accused of antipathy towards the reactionary politics of the Bonn Government, found itself obliged to write:

The president of the German-American Chamber of Commerce of the Midwest called a press conference here yesterday to accuse Chicago consular officials of the West German government of "interfering" with the operations of his organization.

Dr. Henry W. Fredericks, who also heads a Chicago company which represents European manufacturers, asserted that interference by the consular officials consisted, in effect, of "stealing" visiting German notables for whom the chamber had arranged Chicago appearances. Fredericks, who with other chamber officials met with reporters in the Union League club, said he would like to sue the consulate to

stop its action but had found that to be impossible. "The officials have diplomatic immunity from any court action in this country," he explained.

The latest such notable is Dr. Franz Joseph Strauss, former German defense minister, who arrived yesterday for a three-days visit. Fredericks said his chamber had arranged with Strauss, weeks ago, for various appearances here, only to receive a cable from him that he would not be able to keep his commitments and would follow a schedule "planned by the Chicago consulate (of Germany)."

Fredericks contended that the consulate was attempting, by its alleged interference with his organization, to support a rival organization, the German-American Chamber of Commerce of Chicago, which, Fredericks said, was formed months after his chamber was established in 1962. He said his group was about 100 members, and the other chamber has "considerably fewer."

Dr. Klaus Bloemer, press and cultural attaché of the German consulate general in Chicago, said the consulate was "asked by our foreign office" to prepare the Chicago program for Strauss. Eugen Betz, German consul general here, said: "We have nothing against Dr. Fredericks having his chamber of commerce, but we work with the other because it is recognized by German authorities."

The same day, a reporter of *Chicago Daily News* asked Karl Leuteritz, the German deputy consul general here, why the Consulate fights Fredericks and his Chamber. Leuteritz answered: "It is not the policy of the German authorities and organizations to support such free-lance ventures as that started by Dr. Fredericks."

In a press release published the same day, President Fredericks accused the former German consul general Motz, the deputy consul general Leuteritz, and the press attaché Bloemer of the "strongest possible pressure, influence and interference" in American domestic affairs and wrote:

In our opinion, it is completely improper for German consular officials to interfere in American affairs and organizations in the above way, and to exert influence and pressure in this country in this manner. We have never heard of any other foreign consulate acting in such an improper manner, and we feel that this must be stopped immediately . . . German consular officials, through derogatory news releases, phone calls, circulars, and other means, try to influence news media, government officials, business men, and others, to refuse cooperation with and support of German-American Chamber of Commerce this scheming being carried on in the U.S.A. and Germany. As an example of flagrant attempts there is the attempt to influence the Chicago German language newspaper "Abendpost" against the GACC . . . Many other cases can be cited and proven.

President Fredericks further charged the German diplomats of having organized, with the help of German government funds, a rival American organization, which functions as a foreign agent without being duly registered as such. He writes:

As manager (of this rival chamber) they installed a former salesman from the German government-owned airline Lufthansa, named Friedrichs — a name in English pronunciation identical with GACC President's name Fredericks. Messrs. Motz and Leuteritz then had German government funds remitted to their chamber for operating funds, making their chamber a German government financed and directed satellite organization. German consular officials . . . are operating their German government financed Chicago satellite. This is done in direct competition against the GACC, which is operating on private American funds — membership fees and contributions . . . During the Steuben Scholarship Award Dinner (rewarding outstanding American high school students of the German language) at Germania Club, German Vice Consul Dr. Klaus Bloemer, an invited guest at the dinner, in a show of calculated arrogance and rudeness, left the dinner hall as . . . Dr. Fredericks entered.

This writer, as everybody else, was puzzled by implacable enmity which the German Consulate had shown toward Dr. Fredericks, a well-known Chicago civic leader, and asked him for an explanation. Dr. Fredericks explained:

I was born in Germany and was a follower of Pastor Niemöller, who was a fearless fighter against Nazism. As an anti-Nazi I left the country in 1933 and went to the U.S.A., where I became an American citizen. During World War II, I was scheduled as a teacher of German for an OSS course which was planned in Chicago. After I founded the German American Chamber of Commerce, I invited Americans of both parties and all religious beliefs to join the Chamber. Senator Paul Douglas and Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois became honorary directors of the chamber. Prominent Jewish men, for instance Milton Silberman, vice-president of the Exchange National Bank of Chicago, and Rabbi Samuel Burr Yampol are members of the Chamber board. These facts

may have antagonized inveterate Nazis in Germany and elsewhere posing as reconstructed democrats, but they shouldn't antagonize the government of West Germany. There is one more important reason: I have let the former German Consul General Motz know that I do not intend to act as a tool of the German government; the interests of the U.S.A. are primordial for my chamber and me.

The treatment given Fredericks seems to have been tried also on other persons who, the Germans thought, should become "tools of the German government." This writer has been told by K. Albert Schroeder, an Evanston businessman and representative of one of the greatest German manufacturing companies, that the former Consul General Motz had tried unsuccessfully to enlist his help in supplying the German consulate general with hard-to-get economic information. Schroeder objected on the grounds that such a form of collaboration, which he found very unusual, could be construed as economic espionage. According to Schroeder, Motz reacted strongly:

Visibly shaken by this refusal, Motz retorted: "Mr. Schroeder, the Fatherland is asking for your help!" I answered: "There seems to be a slight misunderstanding about the Fatherland you are talking about. I left Germany long ago and I am now a British citizen, while my wife is a Czech." Motz was consternated by this answer. The same day I wrote to my firm in Germany, complaining against Motz. This firm happens to be very powerful and has several members of the West German Parliament on its board of directors. I was never again importuned by Motz; very soon after my complaint, he was transferred from Chicago to Bolivia.

It happened that another prominent Chicago Jewish physician, Dr. Franz Steinitz, complained to the German government about Motz's behavior toward him. In the light of these facts, Motz may have indeed been "kicked upstairs" to Bolivia.

It would be unfair to the German Consulate to mention only people with whom the Consulate has bad relations. There are in fact other circles with whom the German Consulate has excellent and quite close relations, for instance the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, often identified with persons close to the John Birch Society. In close collaboration with Germany, this Foundation organized in March 1962 a conference on "The Berlin Problem and the Future of Eastern Europe" in Chicago. The German participants, by no means avowed Nazis, belonged either to the most conservative political circles of their country or to the German refugee and expellee organizations. The American participants included: Prof. Gerhart Niemeyer, William R. Kintner, and Stefan T. Possony, whose political views, during the present campaign are only too well known.

The Adolf Gunesch Affair

FATE did not permit Consul General Motz to leave this country without being involved in one more widely publicized affair which casts a peculiar light on the German Embassy in Washington and the German Consulate General in Chicago and their relationship with certain groups of German-Americans. The affair in question was caused by internal dissensions in one of these groups, the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.).

In 1952 a suave, well-educated German immigrant came to Chicago. This man, Josef Noe, soon became general manager of the last of the five German dailies once published in Chicago, the *Abendpost*. During World War II, Noe had been one of the managers of the German war industry in the Rhineland. After the war he became one of the founding members of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party and assistant general manager of the *Rheinische Post* in Duisburg, one of the leading newspapers in Germany, which has excellent connections with the German heavy industry and government circles. Ger-

man-Americans in Chicago were puzzled that Noe who ostensibly could have become a member of Parliament or an ambassador of his country, or make a brilliant career in the German press, had chosen instead to emigrate and to become manager of a small foreign language newspaper in Chicago which was slowly dying for lack of financial support at the time of his arrival. After hearing Noe advocate in strong terms the cause of a new Germany, people began asking themselves whether his activity had a hidden purpose. This writer is unable to answer this question. He is able to present a series of facts which will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Shortly after his arrival, Noe began spreading the idea of founding a new powerful organization of German-Americans with the purpose of uniting this nationality group throughout the whole country in order to make its voice heard and its influence felt. He got in touch with Ernst Ten Eicken, the last president of the Einheitsfront (German-American National Alliance), an organization which was declared subversive during World War II and disbanded by the U.S. Attorney General for the support it had given Nazi Germany. He also got in touch with Leonard Enders and other former prominent members of the Einheitsfront. He could not claim to be uninformed. Right in the *Abendpost* files he could have found a communication dated July 18, 1942, addressed to the *Abendpost* by Municipal Judge John Gutknecht. According to the *Chicago Daily News* of the same date, Judge Gutknecht strongly criticized the opinion of the *Abendpost* that there were no disloyal German-Americans. He exposed the activities of Ernst Ten Eicken and of the Einheitsfront, referring to it as "the organization that came into being after the Nazi Bund was uncovered for what it was."

Also in the *Abendpost* files was a voluminous report explaining why the Einheitsfront was declared subversive, why it was disbanded, and numerous members arrested. On page 12 of this report it was stated that the Einheitsfront had received extremely favorable attention from the Nazi General Consulate in Chicago. As indicative of the close association between the Nazi Consul General Baer and the guiding lights of the Einheitsfront it was observed that they were seen together at the Germania Club in Chicago, where they thought themselves unobserved, in intimate conversation on August 28, 1940 and September 4, 1940. It was further stated that Ten Eicken went to Germany, where he received the instructions to found a powerful German-American organization, and that he received further instructions through Ludwig Plate, head of the North German Steamship Line in Chicago. The Einheitsfront, which then came into being, spread Nazi propaganda through a *News Letter* and a radio hour over Radio Station WHIP, Hammond, Indiana. One of the broadcasters was Hans Reichel, a director of the Einheitsfront, to which this writer will refer later. In these broadcasts Americans of other descents were accused of persecuting the German-American minority. The Einheitsfront also sent out Nazi literature throughout the U.S. and as far as Chile. Prior to its disbanding, the Einheitsfront had perfected a political organization in Chicago covering thirty-eight city wards. It was alleged at that time that it hoped to elect in the near future a mayor and other important city officials on its own ticket. Einheitsfront members sent thousands of letters to congressmen and senators threatening them with political extinction if they enacted measures against Nazi Germany. The Einheitsfront also collaborated intimately with the

Nazi Bund. At a dinner party on Saturday evening, June 7, 1941 at the Bismarck Hotel in Chicago, Dr. Otto Willumeit, the leader of the Bund in the Chicago area, said that the Einheitsfront was a very important German organization in its ability to render invaluable aid to Germandom. In the 1940 German Day edition of *Frontkamerad*, also one of the Einheitsfront organs, it was stated that the leader Adolf Hitler, who is guiding all Germans as their first front line soldier, should be regarded with special reverence, and that each and every German feeling and thinking individual abroad should have reached the conviction that it is truly a special honor and distinct privilege for a man in this world to be permitted to identify himself as a member of the German nation; and that anyone who did not think so was a traitor to his own people, a coward, and a double-crosser. The book "Expose of the German-American National Alliance," prepared then by the Non-sectarian League for Americanism, Chicago, charged that the Einheitsfront was rapidly becoming a deadly menace to Americanism and was the spearhead of Nazism in this country, extremely more vicious than the Nazi Bund. However, since the Bund had made only limited inroads on the German-American life, the Einheitsfront was formed to take the Bund's place for the purpose of undermining American civil and political organizations. *It was created to sway public opinion in favor of the Nazi Reich, to stir up hatred against democracy, to influence Americans, primarily of German descent, to do everything possible to harm the Allies.*

Josef Noe must also have known Leonard Enders, one of his closest collaborators. Also in the files of the *Abendpost* was a *Chicago Sun-Times* report of November 14, 1946, entitled "OAGA Needs Scrutiny for Germ of Bund," by Milburn P. Akers, which stated:

The OAGA (Organization of Americans of Germanic Descent) will shortly ask Secretary of State Barrett for a charter. When it does, Barrett should make more than the usual perfunctory inquiry. For OAGA has some undertones that should be investigated before the organization is given the legal standing that comes with a charter.

The following advertisement appeared in the "Sonntagpost," and a similar one in the "Abendpost," recently: "The OAGA, founded some weeks ago, appeals to every American citizen of German descent to join the organization immediately. The OAGA has the intention to unite all German-Americans in order to realize united action in great tasks that can only be accomplished by the backing of numerical strength. The interest received in German circles in Chicago proves the necessity of such an organization. The next meeting that invites every German-American citizen will be held Monday, November 4, at the Schweizer Clubhaus."

There were developments at the meeting which took on a sinister aspect. One thing Secretary Barrett should ascertain is whether the "Mr. Enders," who presided, is the Leonard Enders who had long associations with Bund affiliates. The meeting, conducted in the German language, had about 25 persons in attendance . . .

This conversation took place when a person in the audience asked Enders: "Just what do you mean by Americans of German ancestry?" You're putting me on the spot, Enders replied. He went on to say that the name of the organization signified who was wanted and who wasn't. "You are not answering my question," the interrogator asserted. "I want to know who will be admitted to this organization and who won't." After another evasive answer, Enders, pinned down, said: "Did you hear anything in this place said today against the Jews? We said nothing against the Jews. But we want only Germans of Germanic blood."

One speaker, stating that the Irish constitute only 4 per cent of the city population, said the Germans could do as well, if they were organized, as they constitute 16 per cent of the city's inhabitants. He also noted that "it has been 40 years since Chicago had a German mayor."

OAGA may be harmless. Apparently, however, it contains the germs of a revived Bund. It has the undertones. And it has "Mr. Enders," as many a prewar Bund affiliate had a Leonard Enders. OAGA should be checked and double-checked. For American citizens worthy of the name, and that includes many of Germanic descent, want no more of the Bund or kindred organizations.

These informations did not stop Noe from enlisting the help of Enders, Ten Eicken, and other former members

of subversive organizations in founding his new German-American organization. The spirit of the new organization became manifest through the choice of its name, its first president, and its charter and by-laws. The new organization was called German-American National Congress (the old subversive Einheitsfront was called in English: German-American National Alliance). Ernst Ten Eicken, last president of the subversive Einheitsfront, was chosen first president of the new organization. The charter and by-laws of the Einheitsfront became the basis for the charter and by-laws of the new organization. In writing the charter, Ten Eicken, apart from some minor changes, made only one major change: he substituted the new for the old name. Leonard Enders and Josef Noe were elected members of the board.

The founding meeting of the new organization was held in a long, badly lighted hall. The founders did not know that William D. Saltiel, a prominent Chicago civic leader, was sitting in a dark corner of the hall. Saltiel, the son of the former president of the German Day Association before 1933, Leopold Saltiel, left the hall in protest after an anti-Semitic speech by one of the founders. He was seen leaving which caused great consternation. One of the founders followed him and tried to apologize.

D.A.N.K. Flourishes

THE new organization, known under its abbreviated name, D.A.N.K., became a thriving concern. While the previous efforts of Leonard Enders to maintain the OAGA had not been successful, the D.A.N.K. prospered because numerous former Einheitsfront members joined, among them Hans Reichel, the former director and radio announcer of the Einheitsfront. The real key was Josef Noe, general manager of the *Abendpost*, who extended the help of the only German daily in Chicago to the new organization. He made Leonard Enders city editor and Hans Reichel advertising manager of the *Abendpost*. Karl Bertel, a relative of Noe and secretary general of the D.A.N.K., became circulation manager of the *Abendpost*. Familial, ideological, political, and social ties became so closely intertwined, that the role of Josef Noe was only partly visible. He was elected president of the Chicago South group of the D.A.N.K., and maintained close contacts with the German Consulate General. The founding and activity of the D.A.N.K. must have been welcome to West Germany, since the D.A.N.K. advocated the gathering of all German-Americans and the creation of a powerful pressure group in order to help Germany. Such a group was missing in American politics after the disbanding of the Bund and Einheitsfront.

This writer, during his activity as editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost*, often argued with the general manager Noe about the extensive publicity which he gave to the D.A.N.K. Noe was impervious to the fact that other German-American organizations strongly resented this preferential treatment. He was completely convinced that the best way to help the U.S. as well as Germany was to favor the D.A.N.K. Since Elmer Reynolds, the owner of the *Abendpost*, was an Irishman who could not read and speak German and thus relied completely on Noe, there was nothing this writer could do against Noe's partiality. Noe also remained unimpressed by proofs about the past activities of Ten Eicken, Enders, and Reichel for the subversive Einheitsfront.

The U.S. authorities, however, did not regard the activities of the D.A.N.K. with the same equanimity. The

fact that the charter of the new organization, except for the name, were almost identical with the charter of the subversive Einheitsfront, did not remain unnoticed. Several persons were thus denied American citizenship as long as they were D.A.N.K. members. Finally, Ten Eicken and Enders asked American authorities for an explanation. It was pointed out that the charter of D.A.N.K. should be changed. This was promptly done. Since that time no further citizenship difficulties were encountered.

Other serious difficulties gave, however, birth to the memorable Adolf Gunesch affair which caused considerable interest in Chicago and the Midwest. It cast a peculiar light on the link between the D.A.N.K. and the German diplomatic and consular representatives in this country.

Adolf Gunesch, president of the Gunesch Precancel House in Chicago, was a member of the highest ruling body of the D.A.N.K. Taking at face value the words of his fellow members that it was perfectly possible to be in sympathy with the Democratic Party and be at the same time a good D.A.N.K. member, he unwittingly exposed a whole complex of highly sensitive problems, which were described by columnist Tony Weitzel in the *Chicago Daily News* (November 30, 1962):

Lame-duck Rep. Sidney Yates innocently triggered a political timebomb this week that could blast Chicago's German-American community wide open. In the middle of the politico-ethnic ruckus is 72-year-old Adolf Gunesch, for years a ranking dignitary in Chicago German-American societies. Until he resigned Wednesday he was a director of the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.) and president of the West Side group of the D.A.N.K. He seems to have been out-flanked by an ultra-rightist group that took a dim view of his personal campaign this fall for Sid Yates. Gunesch even paid for a huge ad in the German-American press here, backing Yates and the Democratic ticket. The day after the ad appeared, Gunesch says, he was bombarded by anonymous phone callers who berated him as "a traitor to the German nation." After the election things seemed fairly quiet. Until, that is, Gunesch and his group staged a banquet last Saturday

night at the Keymens' Club, celebrating German-American Week. On the dais were Yates, Hans Adler, director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, and Atty. William D. Salfiel. Yates spoke. So did German Consul General Guenther Motz . . .

Monday, the whole basket of ethnic eggs hit the fan. Gunesch was "invited" to a special meeting of the D.A.N.K. directors. He was shocked, he says, when he discovered the purpose of the session. Three of the directors, he avers in a letter sent to friends Wednesday, tried to force him to sign a declaration in which he was to renounce his Democratic political opinions.

"I have the right," Gunesch says in his communique, "to fight for the good of this country with the party of my choice . . . I shall not permit anybody to force me to alter my political beliefs. Should the D.A.N.K. try this then it does not deserve to exist. To show my protest against such practices, I resigned as president of the Chicago West Side group and as member of the board of directors of D.A.N.K." I tried to reach members of the D.A.N.K. board of directors last Thursday. They were, I learned, at another special meeting.

The D.A.N.K. felt itself dangerously threatened by Gunesch's exposures. The ruling body of the D.A.N.K. issued hurried denials, stating that their organization was independent and non-party. The ideas which Gunesch may have had about the independence of the D.A.N.K. are reflected in his decision to complain against the action of the D.A.N.K. ruling body to the only person who in his opinion stood above the supreme D.A.N.K. hierarchy: the German Ambassador in Washington. Gunesch sent to the Ambassador a lengthy written complaint accompanied by numerous photostats.

Was the German Embassy in Washington the proper place to complain against the decisions of an allegedly independent American organization? This writer has not reached any conclusion in this matter. He would have definitely concluded that the D.A.N.K. is independent and that the German Ambassador is disinterested in American domestic matters if Ambassador K. H. Knappstein had emphasized these facts in his answer to Gunesch's complaints. The Ambassador's answer speaks for itself:

EMBASSY
OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC
THE AMBASSADOR
Mr. Adolf Gunesch
President, Gunesch Precancel House
30 W. Washington Street
Chicago 2, Ill.

Washington, December 12, 1962

Dear Mr. Gunesch:

I thank you many times for your letter of December 1, 1962, in which you are informing me about different happenings inside the German-American National Congress from your viewpoint.

I must confess to you that I am deeply stunned by the contents of your letter. Difficulties and opposed views inside the German-American National Congress are ostensibly unpleasant and should be avoided at any price.

Since I cannot make at once known the direction of my views from Washington, I have asked Consul General Dr. Motz to investigate this affair and send me a detailed report about it.

Yours very devoted,
K. H. Knappstein

A very strange letter indeed, in which the Ambassador of a foreign power asks his subordinate in Chicago to investigate a purely American organization. It was probably written in the belief that its contents will never be made public. However, the omniscient Tony Weitzel published on December 21, 1962 in *Chicago Daily News* the following information:

STUFF: In the wake of that intramural ruckus here (involving highly respected Adolf Gunesch), West German ambassador Heinrich Knappstein has asked for an investigation of the local D.A.N.K. (German American National Congress).

A series of hectic D.A.N.K. meetings followed. One of the meetings, whose obvious purpose was to silence Gunesch and to prevent any further leakings and adverse publicity, was held in the Chicago Bismarck Hotel. The German Consul General Motz participated in the meeting and also influenced Gunesch not to talk. Poor Gunesch, who had in the meantime applied to the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith for help, after receiving dozens of threatening phone calls and letters, decided finally that it might be perhaps wise to give up the struggle. He was especially shocked by a threatening letter, which bore the address "Adolf Precancel, Traitor to Germandom", was smeared with blood, and contained only three words: "You are next!"

BOTSCHAFT
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

DER BOTSCHAFTER Washington, den 12. Dezember 1962

Herrn
Adolf Gunesch
Präsident
Gunesch Precancel House
30 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Ill.

Sehr geehrter Herr Gunesch !

Für Ihren Brief vom 1. Dezember 1962, mit dem Sie mich über verschiedene Vorgänge innerhalb des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Nationalkongresses aus Ihrer Sicht unterrichten, danke ich Ihnen vielmals.

Ich muss Ihnen gestehen, dass ich über den Inhalt Ihres Briefes sehr betroffen bin. Schwierigkeiten und Gegensätze innerhalb des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Nationalkongresses sind denkbar unangenehm und sollten unter allen Umständen vermieden werden.

Da ich von Washington aus nicht ohne weiteres eine weitergehende Stellungnahme abgeben kann, habe ich Herrn Generalkonsul Dr. Motz gebeten, sich dieser Angelegenheit anzunehmen und mir darüber Näheres zu berichten.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

K. H. Knappstein



D.A.N.K. Festivities

EMBOLDENED by the silencing of Gunesch, the D.A.N.K. went ahead with new activities. On September 15, 1963, the D.A.N.K. organized a big celebration in the Germania Club of Chicago to consecrate a new flag. The main speaker was Dr. Ludwig Fritsch, a member of the board of directors of the D.A.N.K., who had published after World War II a book, "The Crime of Our Age," containing some unkind remarks about the Jews. A protestant pastor before the war, Dr. Fritsch lost his job during the war because of his pro-Nazi activities. This writer was invited to attend the ceremony; he declined the invitation and sent a reporter, Mrs. Isabella Przysiesny. She came back horrified and reported that Fritsch had uttered several unkind remarks about the American flag. Shortly afterwards, she was called to the Chicago FBI office, where she gave a statement about the D.A.N.K. ceremony. Josef Noe, the general manager of the *Abendpost*, did everything in his power to hush up the story and ordered the editorial staff to proceed with favorable publicity for D.A.N.K. as if nothing had happened.

The following day, the D.A.N.K. already had the information that Mrs. Przysiesny had been questioned by the FBI. An official of the D.A.N.K. called her by phone in the editorial offices of the *Abendpost* and tried to induce her not to tell anybody about what had happened. Mrs. Przysiesny was so affected by the rudeness of the official that she cried at length. This writer decided then to let D.A.N.K. know that he would ask for police protection for the *Abendpost* staff and would inform the Attorney General if further harassing calls or actions happen. This helped.

In the meantime, the German-American community in the Midwest was stirred by feverish activity. New organizations, partly composed of D.A.N.K. members, mushroomed. The Jewish daily, *Morning Freiheit*, concerned by these activities, published on January 19, 1964 an article by its Illinois manager Jack Kling, "Midwest Nazis Strongly Tied To Other Ultra-Rightist Groups" which charged:

On February 8, 1963 a new organization made up of former Nazis, many German, called the "Independent American Council" was founded. The president of this organization is Christ N. Herr, a former member of the Nazi police force in occupied Yugoslavia. Herr fled in October 1944 with other Nazis to Germany and later immigrated to the United States after the Republicans came to power. Other members of the Board of Directors are Leonard Enders, a well-known pro-Nazi and anti-Semite in the German community, Dr. Ludwig Fritsch (more about him later), Hans Reichel, another well known pro-Nazi in the German community. The Board of Directors has more than 30 members and meets every Friday evening in the rooms of the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.) another rightist German-American organization.

Dr. Fritsch, who lives at 1901 S. Cumberland Ave., Park Ridge, Ill., published a book in 1949, entitled "The Crime of Our Age." The book (p. 2) is "dedicated to the Christian People of America." On page 5, the author writes: "Our leaders decided for the sinister powers of communism and atheism and helped them to victory. Our forces made a heap of ruins of the bulwark of Christianity and the white race, Germany . . . Since the physically and mentally sick late President (Roosevelt) surrounded himself with advisers who according to their spiritual background, reject the Savior and Prince of Peace, it is evident to me that the end of the war could not bring peace but chaos and unspeakable misery for all mankind. Bernard Baruch from Koenigsberg, the so-called elder statesman, Henry Morgenthau from Mannheim, Felix Frankfurter from Vienna, Albert Einstein from Berlin, Mrs. Rosenberg from Budapest, Sam Rosenman, Roosevelt's ghost writer, Sidney Hillman, the labor leader, and many others who advised the President . . . had reason to hate the Nazis for their cruelty against their race."

Hans Reichel, one of the members of the Board of Directors of the "Independent American Council" is also connected with ultra-rightists belonging to other nationality groups, many of whom are war criminals wanted in their native countries for crimes committed against Jews and others as

well . . . On May 24, 1963, Reichel spoke in the Germania Club of Chicago, Germania Place at a meeting of the German Day Association. About 140 delegates representing 108 German-American societies were present. Reichel spoke about the "brave fight for the German nation during World War II" and told the assembly that he was "imprisoned and tortured for three years in an American concentration camp." He was referring to the period when he was interned for Nazi Bund activities.

Hans Reichel is currently employed by the "Abendpost," the only German daily newspaper in the Midwest. Until recently, he had been the assistant manager of the "Abendpost." Reichel and his colleagues have been in direct and indirect contact with leaders of the American Nazi Party.

Reichel was the organizer of a banquet held August 1963 in honor of the 72nd birthday of one Leonard Enders, a well-known Nazi Bundist in the Chicago German community. The master of ceremonies was Christ N. Herr. Herr introduced the main speaker, Charles V. Falkenberg, an attorney with rightist connections. The lawyer at the outset spoke of his connections with pro-Fascist Father Charles Coughlin in the 1930's. The attorney boasted of his defense of an American Nazi Party group arrested outside of the State and Lake Theatre in the Chicago Loop as they picketed a film in which Sammy Davis Jr. played. Falkenberg referred to Sammy Davis Jr. as the "coon-Jew boy."

There are also indications of links between these forces and some top people in the John Birch Society of the Midwest. So here we get just a small part of a very big and involved story. You have the American Nazi Party and its attorney with connections with various rightist movements and with Nazi war criminals living in our country. All of these forces together contaminate the atmosphere with their racial hatred and anti-Semitism.

While the *Morning Freiheit* mentions only briefly the "links between these forces and some top people in the John Birch Society of the Midwest," the *Abendpost* of August 5, 1963 listed among people present at the same Enders testimonial meeting Theodore W. Miller (one of the twelve endorsers of the John Birch Society in Illinois) and Fritz Reuter (John Birch Society). The New York *Aufbau*, a Jewish weekly newspaper in the German language, also mentioned connections between the D.A.N.K. and the Birch Society in its issue of May 15, 1964.

The present election campaign makes it possible to closely scrutinize D.A.N.K. allegations about its independent and non-party character. No Democrat has had the opportunity, as far as this writer knows, to speak to the D.A.N.K. members. Prominent Goldwaterites, however, have been allowed to attend D.A.N.K. meetings at an early stage of the campaign, for example, Hayes Robertson. On September 30, Walther A. Kollacks (who became president of the D.A.N.K. after the death of Ten Eicken) spoke to the membership about "Johnson, Goldwater and the German-Americans," he emphasized, among other things, that the opinion of the German-Americans will be respected in Washington only if and when one hundred thousand members would stand behind the D.A.N.K. leadership. After this optimistic talk, political movies sent by the German Consulate General were shown. The event received wide publicity in the *Abendpost*.

The Leonard Enders Affair

THERE has been, however, a series of protests which should have warned the owner of the *Abendpost* that the activity of these elements had been noticed. In June 1962, a delegation of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, led by H. Abbot Rosen, a member of the Board of Directors of that organization, and William Pinsley visited Elmer Reynolds, owner of the *Abendpost*, and submitted a series of proofs about the activity of his city editor Leonard Enders to his attention. Among these proofs was a statement, published in the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Sidney Yates, in which Enders was exposed as an anti-Semite. Reynolds, however, declined to examine these proofs and to fire Enders.

Leonard Enders would have remained city editor of the *Abendpost* to this day, had he not been forced by a strange series of events to resign. After Richard Sperber

had unmasked the activities which the German press attache Dr. Klaus Bloemer conducted under the false name of Dr. Klaus Frei, Enders felt himself compelled at once to attack publicly and slander Sperber. This was another memorable coincidence illuminating the relations between the German Consulate, the *Abendpost*, and the D.A.N.K. Sperber had no other choice but sue Enders; this lawsuit was described by the Chicago City News Bureau on August 13, 1962 as follows:

A \$250,000 slander suit was filed yesterday (Thursday) in Superior Court against Leonard Enders, city editor of the "Abendpost," a German language daily newspaper published in Chicago. A radio announcer, Richard Sperber, 41, of 926 Michigan Ave., Evanston, alleges in the suit that Enders, who lives at 627 Melrose St., slandered him on two occasions. Attorney Melvin A. Brandt drew the suit, which alleges that on April 27th, Enders called Sperber "a traitor to the German cause", at a reception in the home of the Austrian consul general, Dr. Franz Haromy, 2925 Pine Grove Ave. The second occurrence, the suit said, was on July 22, at a picnic of the German-American National Congress, in the Forest preserve, where Enders allegedly called Sperber "an exponent of the Jews," who was "trying to exert Jewish control" over the group, of which both Enders and Sperber are members. The suit said that after Enders' statements a movement to oust Sperber as director of the club's foreign affairs committee formed, and that he was fired from his post as editor of the group's bulletin. All of Enders' words on two occasions were "false and defamatory," according to the suit. Sperber's suit asks for an injunction to restrain Enders from continuing "his campaign of slander," as well as \$250,000 damages for injuries to Sperber's "good name and reputation." Brandt said that Enders' allegations amounted to charges of disloyalty against Sperber. . . . Sperber added that the August 2 issue of the bulletin, containing an article by him on "right-wing radicalism" in the organization, was burned, except for two copies he got from the printer. Sperber is a panel member on the television program, *Press Internationale*.

After a deputy sheriff appeared in the editorial office of the *Abendpost* to hand the suit to Enders, the latter almost collapsed and cried publicly. He applied at once to Noe and Reichel for help, imploring them not to let him down and reminding them of their past and present common ties and common beliefs. To this writer Enders said that he was prepared to commit suicide in the rooms of the *Abendpost* or in the headquarters of the D.A.N.K., in order to open the eyes of Germandom on the matter of the nefarious activities of Richard Sperber. However, Noe and Reichel used at once their influence on Sperber, imploring him not to prosecute Enders in the interests of the German-Americans. Reichel, who in his position as assistant general manager and advertising manager of the *Abendpost* circulated very much in the city of Chicago, also enlisted the help of other people in order to save Enders, his former collaborator in the subversive pro-Nazi Einheitsfront. Sperber finally gave in under one condition: he asked that Enders must resign from his post as city editor of the *Abendpost* and sever his connections with that newspaper forever, in order to stop harming the German-American community by his slanted writings.

Although Elmer Reynolds, the *Abendpost* owner, and Josef Noe did not want to lose such a prominent collaborator, Enders finally resigned, after he was advised that Sperber would win the lawsuit. Enders appeared soon afterwards in the Chicago German-American press as contributor to a magazine in the German language, the *Chicago Illustrierte*. He also increased his social activities, holding meetings and participating in the founding of new groups. The activity of one of these groups, headed by Christ Herr but inspired by Enders, was described previously in this article. He also received full support from D.A.N.K. This organization glorified Enders in one of its bulletins by publishing his picture and calling him "father of the D.A.N.K."

The traditions of Enders in the *Abendpost* were con-

tinued by the assistant general manager Hans Reichel, himself a member of the D.A.N.K. as well as of the former subversive Einheitsfront. At the time of the Eichmann trial, Reichel published in the *Abendpost* an article denying that Germans had been the greatest war criminals in World War II and asserting that the greatest war criminal was Moshe Piyade — a Jew from Yugoslavia. This writer refused to publish the article in the *Abendpost*; however, he was overruled by the general manager Noe, who enjoyed the full support of the *Abendpost* owner and sided with Reichel.

Reichel's assertions in this and other articles, as well as his past and his activities outside of the *Abendpost* in the Chicago German-American community, antagonized a number of prominent Chicago Jews; who formed a delegation and visited with the *Abendpost* owner Elmer Reynolds, asking him to fire Reichel. The leaders of the delegation were Rabbi Samuel Burr Yampol and the lawyer Arthur L. Berman. As in the Enders case, Reynolds refused categorically and gave the delegation the strange answer that he was going to investigate the loyalty of Reichel with the help of the Counter Intelligence Agency. This answer puzzled everybody, since it was known that the CIA was not entitled to act in such domestic matters, being a governmental agency dedicated to operations abroad. For this writer, however, this answer came as no surprise, since Noe had previously boasted many times about his excellent relations with the CIA. After several weeks, Reynolds let Rabbi Yampol know that Reichel would remain with the *Abendpost*.

Emboldened by this support, Reichel published on October 1, 1963 a manifesto in the *Abendpost*, calling the "750,000 German-Americans in Chicago and vicinity" not to disappear in the great American melting-pot but to unite and fight for political influence, to found a powerful organization uniting them all, and to elect German-American members of Congress. For those who remembered the language of the subversive Einheitsfront, which also advocated the organizing of powerful German-American pressure groups in order to work for the interests of a foreign power — these ideas were neither new nor strange. In order to get a platform from which he could more successfully spread his beliefs, Reichel was elected president of a German-American organization in Chicago, the American Aid Society; an organization which did not concern itself exclusively with aid, but tried to exert influence in Washington. Reichel's activities, already considerable at that time, increased immensely with the beginning of the presidential campaign. He is, needless to say, a Goldwater supporter.

Parelleling the activities of Enders and Reichel, the *Abendpost* increased its connections with West Germany. After the break between Dr. Henry Fredericks and the German Consulate in Chicago, the general manager Noe, who remained in constant touch with the German Consul Motz, ordered this writer to blacklist Dr. Fredericks and to deny him any publicity. Noe even tried to refuse a paid advertisement by Fredericks, claiming that the deadline for the ad was past and that the printers would not accept it. After checking with the printers, this writer found these assertions untrue; the ad was published. Noe also tried to blacklist Adolf Gunesch after his dissensions with the D.A.N.K. Needless to say, this writer declined any blacklisting as contrary to the moral code of the American press.

At the same time, a new and revolting form of collaboration with West Germany was introduced by Noe. While the *Abendpost* formerly bought whole-page mats in the German language with harmless contents from several



private West German firms; the German Consulate began sending free-of-cost numerous whole-page mats containing brazen German political, economic, and cultural propaganda, glorifying Germany past and present as a haven of pure democracy, Western culture, and human decency. At the same time, a nominally independent West German organization called "Inter Nations," operated by German government funds, also began sending whole-page propaganda mats. This writer protested energetically against the inclusion of foreign propaganda, not labeled as such, in an American newspaper whose publisher was not registered in Washington as the agent of a foreign government. However, Noe, the general manager, ordered the inclusion of these mats in the contents of the *Abendpost* as well as in the daily *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung* and the weekly *Sonntagpost*.

Noe also went to West Germany, using a plane of the Lufthansa, the government-owned German airline. He told this writer, he did not pay the fare. In West Germany he got in touch with Franz Meyers, Prime Minister of the Rhine province, in order to get material support from government-owned and private German business companies for the *Abendpost*, *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung*, and *Sonntagpost*. Noe told this writer, such support was promised. After the return of Noe, several ads from West Germany arrived; among them were several from firms which could not be interested in American business and could have no reason to advertise in a small, American foreign-language newspaper.

This writer was powerless to object to such business practices. However, he protested after a big German industrial company sent a gift of 500 German Marks. After this writer pointed out to Noe that outright gifts in reply to letters of solicitation should be unwelcome, Noe inserted an ad in the *Abendpost*, although the company had not asked for such an ad.

Threats at 2 A.M.

TENSION developed, after it became known that this writer, in his capacity as editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost*, *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung*, and *Sonntagpost*, would not support the above-described practices of the management. One night, at two o'clock in the morning, this writer was disturbed at home by a phone call. The man at the other end of the line spoke English with a heavy German accent and said: "You have been opposing as editor of the *Abendpost* not only patriotic organizations like the D.A.N.K. which want to save this country from the Jewish-Liberal conspiracy, but also West Germany, the last bulwark of human decency and a Christian way of life in the world. We are asking you for the last time to repent and to collaborate with the German-American patriots and with West Germany. If you reject this last chance, which is given to you although you do not deserve it, you will have to ascribe all the evil consequences that will ensue for you to yourself. Do not believe that there is an authority in this country to protect you from the so-called extreme rightists you are opposing, because the FBI and the CIA work hand in glove with these patriotic forces, not with the Jewish-Liberal traitors you like. Moreover, it would be easy for the government of Western Germany to send a report to the American authorities describing your past activities as subversive, Communist, or Anarchist. There will be nobody to whitewash you in this country, because government-to-government reports are blindly trusted, and you will be labeled as subversive and thus persecuted to the end of

your days. So please think, and I pray to God that you will come to the right decision and do penance for your past errors and wrongdoings."

This writer was, needless to say, surprised by this call, due to the fact that he had an unlisted number, known only to the *Abendpost* management and to a few friends. He changed his phone number the following day, taking care not to inform the *Abendpost* about the new number. No more harassing calls were received.

In the light of the subsequent events, the threats uttered over the phone did not seem to be the irresponsible boasting of a madman. Shortly after the *Abendpost* owner Reynolds had told the Jewish delegation that he was able to check the loyalty of his employees by the CIA, an attempt was made to burglarize the apartment of this writer. Fortunately two strong locks withstood the burglars. This writer as well as his wife were also shadowed by unknown persons. A Chicago civic leader, Dimitrije Munjic, was also shadowed after having met this writer in a cafe. His apartment was also burglarized by two unknown persons posing as exterminators, who were seen by his neighbors. Nothing valuable disappeared from Munjic's apartment, neither money nor jewels. However, all his manuscripts were taken away. The organizers of the burglary must have been heavily disappointed after they discovered that they had stolen the manuscripts of several major anti-Communist works.

New dissensions between this writer and the *Abendpost* management induced the owner to look for a new editor out of town. The *Abendpost* owner did not dare to publish an ad looking for a new editor in Chicago, but published such ads in New York and St. Louis. Since it would be very helpful for a Chicago newspaper to get an editor born and raised in the same city, well acquainted with the local German-American life, the purposes of doing otherwise are self-explanatory. Moreover, the *Abendpost* owner also knew that Richard Sperber, the able newspaperman who had exposed Leonard Enders, might have been available for the job; he was not called. Did his past antagonism to Enders and the D.A.N.K. leadership as well as to the German diplomat Bloemer make him ineligible? This question can be answered only by the *Abendpost*.

In the meantime West Germany has intensified its activities in the U.S. Hundreds of emissaries of different West German organizations, many of them advocating extreme rightist views or the interests of different German expellee groups, have swamped the U.S. after the beginning of the election campaign. They travel from city to city, from one German-American group to another, speaking at their meetings and conferring with the leadership of these groups behind closed doors. In Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee the German-Americans are stirred up to unite, found a strong pressure group, and take over the leadership of this country. Fantastic utterances about the number of German-Americans are spread; some are asserting that they number more than 40 million people. The West German visitors are doing everything in their power to boost these ideas. Their travel expenses are paid by their organizations, and these organizations are partly financed by the German government.

One may take all these events with humor and say, as the *Decatur Herald* has done, that all those people in foreign countries who are taking so much interest in U.S. domestic affairs and in the U.S. presidential campaign should be sent a United States tax bill. Or one may take a more serious look and emphasize that such interference is not in the interest of good relations between West Germany and the U.S.

Storm er Truth?

None Dare Call It Treason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, a nonpartisan organization actively led by some of the most articulate citizens of Cleveland has prepared a report on a book entitled "None Dare Call It Treason." The National Committee for Civic Responsibility is headed by Mr. Thomas C. Westropp, executive director of the Women's Federal Savings & Loan Association of this city. Mr. Westropp also serves as the first vice commander of the 13th District of Ohio American Legion. By its code of regulations, this organization is prohibited from taking a partisan position on any public issue except in instances where violence is advocated or practiced or where calumny — the malicious use of falsehood — is used to intimidate or discredit. The National Committee for Civic Responsibility has issued several reports and they have received extensive support and encouragement from the newspaper media in the Cleveland community.

Following is the official report of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility on "None Dare Call It Treason," which I recommend and bring to the attention of the distinguished Members of this body:

NONE DARE CALL IT TREASON

1. This seems to be the only publication of Liberty Bell Press, Florissant, Mo., listed as the address of Liberty Bell Press, is a suburb of St. Louis, Mo. There is no telephone listed to Liberty Bell Press in Florissant and none in the Greater St. Louis area.

2. The listed price of this book is 75 cents, but it is being distributed in Cleveland at prices ranging from \$1 to free by such rightwing organizations and their representatives as the John Birch Society and the Organization To Fight Communism, Inc. Booksellers in Cleveland receive their copies from Klein News a large distributing company. Klein News receives its supply from William Shepler, area coordinator of and public spokesman for the John Birch Society in Cleveland. Klein News pays 20 cents a copy with the unlimited right to return all unsold copies. Both the price and the arrangement are much more favorable than normal practice. From an article in the New York Times on July 23, 1964, it would seem that the distribution of this book is a John Birch Society project in other parts of the country as well.

3. Since this book contains 818 references supposedly substantiating the material contained therein, it gives the appearance of being the well-documented study which it claims to be. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Stormer relies heavily for his documentation on the *Congressional Record* and upon testimony given before committees of the Congress but in most instances he fails

to give the name of the person whose testimony he relies upon or the name of the person who inserted the material into the *Record*.

Since the *Congressional Record* contains material on every conceivable side of every issue along with much extraneous material, and since hearings before congressional committees contain testimony from many unreliable sources, including Communists, it is necessary to know just who is saying what if one is to properly make an evaluation. Stormer seldom provides this information in his documentation.

4. If the reader does not understand the nature of the *Congressional Record* and if he cannot differentiate between testimony before congressional committees and the findings of those committees and so is led to believe that such "documentation" is in any way official or necessarily factual, the fault is not entirely Stormer's.

5. But the reader has a right to expect that references set forth by Stormer as documentation will at least say what Stormer claims for it. In case after case, the author has subverted those references to give a totally erroneous impression and even to say precisely the opposite of what his own reference claims.

Some Examples

A. Stormer, pages 169 and 170: "This became sharply clear in an article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Assistant to President Kennedy, which set forth the plan for achieving socialism in America" (*Congressional Record*, February 6, 1962, p. A881). Schlesinger outlines no such plan; in fact, Schlesinger's remarks, inserted in the *Record* by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, February 6, 1962, pages A881-A884, said precisely the opposite:

Page A881: "The socialist state is thus worse than the capitalist state because it is more inclusive in its coverage and more unlimited in its power. Organization corrupts; total organization corrupts totally. The socialist state justifies itself on the ground that the concentration of power is necessary to do good; but it has never solved the problem of how you insure that power bestowed to

do good will not be employed to do harm, especially when you remove all obstacles to its exercise."

Page A882: "The more varieties of ownership the better; liberty gets more fresh air and sunlight through the interstices of a diversified society than through the close-knit grip of collectivism. The recipe for retaining liberty is not nationalization but muddling through."

B. Stormer, page 29, paragraph 2: "In 1943, congressional investigations later revealed, before the United States had itself assembled the first atomic bomb, half of all American uranium and the technical information needed to construct a bomb were sent to Russia. Is it any wonder that the Communists became a nuclear power years ahead of expectations? (Hearings, Shipment of Atomic Material to U.S.S.R. HCUA, 81st Cong., p. 1156.) The testimony referred to was given by Maj. George Racey Jordan who wrote several books making sensational charges but whose accounts varied so much from time to time that his charges have been discredited (see Time magazine, Dec. 12, 1949; Newsweek, Dec. 19, 1949). Nowhere in this reference does Major Jordan or anyone else refer to "technical information needed to construct a bomb" being sent to Russia, nor is any mention even made about any atomic bomb information. Major Jordan does discuss shipment of radioactive material on pages 1156 and 1157 of the hearings. Quoted from page 1157 is the following response by Major Jordan to a question from Mr. Tavenner, counsel for the Committee on Un-American Activities:

"Mr. Tavenner, I was very embarrassed when I found you only located 45 pounds of uranium when the papers I had called for 500 pounds. So I listened to General Groves' testimony, and I understand that while they asked for 500 pounds they were only able to locate 45. So when I testified in perfectly good faith they got 500 pounds, I thought they did, but it turned out they only filled that particular order to the extent of 45 pounds. I took it from the papers.

"When I talked of heavy water (an alternative method of making nuclear devices), I saw 'heavy water' on the papers. I have since been told there was none in the United States, and that what I thought was heavy water was sulfuric acid. I was being perfectly honest."

It is on the basis of such testimony that Mr. Stormer would have the reader believe that congressional investigations revealed the shipment to Russia of one-half the U.S. stockpile of uranium and the technical assistance to construct an atomic bomb. The congressional investigation revealed nothing of the sort, nor was there even such testimony. What the investigation did reveal was that, at best, Jordan's testimony was unreliable and Stormer's attempt to pass this testimony off as committee findings puts his writing in the same category.

C. Stormer, page 29, paragraph 4: "In actual conduct of the war, military decisions were made, not according to the tactical needs of the day, but for the long range political advantage of the Communist conspiracy (Roosevelt and Hopkins, Sherwood, p. 590)."

Page 590 of Sherwood's book contains nothing whatever to support this charge, nor is any mention made of such a happening. Page 591 says the following:

"It has often been said that Churchill's advocacy of the 'soft underbelly' approach to Europe demonstrated his farsightedness — that he was motivated by the long range purpose of keeping the Red Army out of the Danube Valley and the Balkans. In the opinion of some of the American authorities who were involved in the strategic discussions, this claim gave Churchill credit for too much

prescience. He may have had such thoughts in mind in 1944, but certainly not in 1942; and one may ask, in this connection: if Anglo-American strength had been concentrated in southern and southeastern Europe, what would have stopped the Russians from marching into the Ruhr and Saar and even into Normandy? The American Chiefs of Staff believed that Churchill's strategic concepts were much more easily explained: he had an incurable predilection for 'eccentric operations' which had guided him in the First as well as the Second World War; he preferred operations which depended on surprise, deception and speed in terrain (for example, the Balkan valleys) where there was not sufficient room for huge ground forces to be deployed."

Again Stormer's "documentation" does not support his assertion and seems in fact, to be saying quite the reverse of Stormer's allegation.

D. Stormer, page 126, paragraphs 2, 3: "Among his (Dr. Harry F. Ward) closest associates and most devoted pupils in the religious field were such conspirators as Rev. Jack McMichael, Rev. Chas. Webber, Rev. Alanson Smith, Dr. Willard Uphaus and Rev. Lee Ball. The controversial Methodist bishop, G. Bromley Oxnam, was Ward's pupil, secretary, and one-time apologist."

The references to and activities of the several named ministers are in the process of being checked with the proper authorities and will be added to this report immediately upon receipt of the necessary information. But Stormer's references to G. Bromley Oxnam is an excellent example of pulling a reference out of context in order to twist it to the opposite meaning. Stormer is, of course, implying that Oxnam is pro-Communist but the very reference which Stormer gives (hearings, HCUA, July 21, 1952, p. 3725; actually, the correct date is July 21, 1953) makes it quite clear that such a linking of Oxnam to Ward and so to communism is unjustified if not downright dishonest. The testimony cited is as follows:

Question: "Is he (Ward) a good friend of yours?"

Oxnam: "I will have to answer that by telling you when he was and what my relationship is with him now."

Question: "Well, please do that."

Oxnam: "Professor Ward came to the Boston School of Theology, I believe, in 1914. I was a student. He was a brilliant teacher. He was an inspirational personality. He made an extraordinary contribution to the students of that institution. I was very, very fond of him. I took dictation from him as a part-time secretary in the dictation of one of his books. I knew his family. Professor Ward was a leader in the social movement of the Methodist church and over a long period of time rendered, I believe, very valuable service.

"There came a time in my mind when I believed that Professor Ward had shifted his views concerning the whole Communist question. I found myself in fundamental disagreement with Professor Ward as early as 1928.

"In 1932 I had to propose I believe — no — it was 1928 that I proposed the message that was drafted by the Methodist church for the resolution on the social question. It was in opposition to Professor Ward's proposal, but what I proposed was carried by the Methodist church.

"In 1936, I drafted the resolution that put the Methodist Church on record as one of the earliest denominations in opposition to communism and fascism. We were, but nobody had ever said that before, and I wanted it in a clear resolution.

"From 1936 — and I'm not sure I saw Professor Ward even then — I've seen Professor Ward once — I know since 1936 — I think probably since 1932.

"Now then, he was an inspirational teacher, to whom I owe very, very much. He was a dear personal friend. When he shifted his views, as I believe, I had to break with Professor Ward. He understood it.

"I can bring for the committee, if it wishes, the letters that I wrote to him back at that time indicating a complete break in the matter of what he was standing for and what I believed we should stand for."

E. Stormer, page 58, paragraph 3: "Weapons and ammunition were supplied to the underground in Cuba by the CIA in such a way as to insure that they could never be used." His documentation for this charge is a column written by Edith Roosevelt in the *Shreveport Journal*, September 15, 1962. If Edith Roosevelt, a frankly partisan rightwing writer had made such a charge, it would not necessarily have been an accurate statement. But the fact is that she said no such thing. Edith Roosevelt writes that CIA dropped caches of weapons and ammunition at underground freedom fighter depots in the expectation that the underground would be able to mount a coordinated attack in which ammunition and weapons would be properly distributed. She quarrels with this concept and points out that this resulted in some weaponry not having proper ammunition. At no time does she say or even imply that this was done to "insure that they could never be used."

F. Stormer, page 168, paragraph 1: "Despite exposure of the Communist control of the CIO by congressional investigations in 1938-39, the Communists remained in open control for at least seven more years." (Ref. 7, ch. 10: *Congressional Record*, Sept. 22, 1950, p. A6831.)

There is simply no mention whatever in the reference which Stormer cites as to how long the CIO remained under Communist influence subsequent to the congressional investigation, or whether it remained so at all. This is a spurious reference.

G. Stormer, page 32, paragraph 6: "Gen. James Van Fleet, another Korean commander told Congress: 'My own conviction is that there must have been information to the enemy from high diplomatic authorities that we would not attack his home bases across the Yalu.'" (Ref. 30, ch. 3: Hearings interlocking subversion in Government departments, SISS, 1954, pp. 1653-1708; 1711-1733; 2019-2046.)

Stormer has lumped this reference in with several previous ones, making it rather difficult to find. But when General Van Fleet's pertinent testimony is discovered on page 2033, we find that Stormer has embroidered a bit although he is purporting to quote General Van Fleet directly. The actual quote, as it appears in the record is, "My own conviction is that there must have been information to the enemy that we would not attack his home bases." Under questioning, the general affirms that this is a supposition and that he has no evidence to support it.

The significance of this example is that Stormer added words to an item which he purported to be quoting.

H. Stormer, page 205, paragraph 4: "If U.S. proposals for arms control and disarmament are accepted, U.S. military forces will be transferred to the U.N. peace force, which is directed by the Under Secretary for Political and Security Council affairs, who has always been a Communist." (No documentation.)

Stormer does not document this statement, although he certainly could have. Dozens of rightwing organizations have circulated this myth, and, by quoting each other, have compiled an extensive file of meaningless documentation. In the *Congressional Record* of May 2, 1963, Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, Republican, of California, quotes the

following paragraphs from the Long Beach, Calif., Independent, a metropolitan daily newspaper, of March 15, 1963, as follows: "The U.S. Government is trying to put all its Armed Forces under the command of a Russian general, John Rousselot told 600 persons in municipal auditorium Thursday night. Rousselot, John Birch Society district governor for six Western States and former Congressman from California's 25th District, spoke on 'Disarmament: Blueprint for Surrender.'"

"This office (referring to Under Secretary for Security Council and Political Affairs) is held by a Russian general," he said, "and if the United States turns over its Armed Forces to the U.N., the Russian general will command them."

After quoting those paragraphs, Senator KUCHEL went on to say, "Those fantastic charges, Mr. President, are false — completely false. But when one, who was honored to be a Member of the Congress for two years — or even one who writes for an undisguised hatesheet, utters such a cry, there are Americans who listen and believe." The Senator then said, "There is no Russian colonel, or general, or military or civilian individual who is 'Secretary of the United Nations' or 'Secretary of the U.N. Security Council.' Let the record be clear that there are 19 Under Secretaries of the Security Council, of which 13 are filled by Americans or representatives of our allies and of which two are Soviet bloc nations. None of them has anything to do with the command of any joint U.N. military operations. There is no world police force in the U.N. And, of course, no Soviet national ever gave Gen. Douglas MacArthur any orders." The Senator then said, "I sympathize with some of my constituents who are honestly bewildered and confused by the trash of the rightwing extremists. I even feel sympathetic with those who have been taken in as dupes. But I have nothing but seething contempt for the originators of the hoaxes and swindles, from the ludicrous leaders of the Birch Society to the equally ludicrous director of the Cinema Educational Guild, including any and all of the several hundred similar self-styled patriotic groups. They are anything but patriotic. Indeed, a good case can be made that they are unpatriotic, and downright un-American. For they are doing a devil's work far better than Communists themselves could do."

Documentation

The front cover of "None Dare Call It Treason" presents the claim that it is "The carefully documented story of America's retreat from victory." The back cover of the book calls it "a careful compilation of facts from hundreds of congressional investigations and dozens of authoritative books."

The research committee of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility finds that it is neither carefully documented nor factual and that the word "authoritative" does not apply to many of Stormer's sources.

In support of these conclusions, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility research committee presents the following examples:

A. (1) In 32 instances, Stormer uses as his authority "Human Events." This publication is an admittedly biased rightwing publication which the Anti-Defamation League has referred to as "an extremely rightist Washington newsletter." (Cross-Currents, p. 145, Forster and Epstein.) The John Birch Society (p. 81, the Blue Book) says, "Human Events not only feels also that we complement each other well, but for this reason is willing to join us in offering

bulk subscriptions to the two periodicals together at a reduced price."

(2) In 12 instances, Stormer cites as his authority books which comprise the John Birch Society packet "One Dozen Candles."

(3) In at least 35 other instances Stormer has used as his authority such documentation as the "Dan Smoot Report," the "National Education Program," the bulletin of the John Birch Society, "America's Future," and other biased rightwing publications.

Such publications can, in no sense, be considered "authoritative." They cannot do much more than attest to the fact that someone else in right wing circles shares Stormer's views.

B. In 66 instances, Stormer gives as his authority "hearings" before congressional committees, and in most instances gives no indication as to who is testifying. This is no documentation at all since many persons testify with opposing viewpoints and, in fact, this is the purpose of hearings. To cite testimony given at hearings as being somehow "authoritative" or "official" is unjustified.

C. In 65 instances Stormer cites the *Congressional Record* as his authority. As is the case with congressional hearings, Stormer often fails to identify the person inserting these things into the *Record*. The *Congressional Record* contains all views and opinions of all Congressmen and much other material as well. The only thing official about the *Congressional Record* is that it is a record of everything that goes on in the Congress and whatever other material Congressmen choose to insert. Certainly no case can be made for using the *Congressional Record* as an "authority" upon which to document anything, for by doing this, one could "prove" his case on either side of any controversial issue or on both.

D. Stormer's sometimes vague, incomplete or otherwise faulty citations make research of his material difficult. Some examples:

(1) Reference 60 of chapter 3 refers simply to "Consul General for Yugoslavia versus Artukovic," without mention of where, when, or by whom such a hearing was conducted.

(2) Reference 32 of chapter 2 refers to "House Document 227, page 4." Without any information as to the date or session of Congress in which this document is issued, it is virtually impossible to find.

(3) Reference 13 of chapter 9 refers to "A Draft Act Covering Hospitalization of the Mentally Ill," and then says that a "majority of States" have mental health laws based on it. He does not identify the source of the "draft act" nor those States which supposedly based their laws upon it.

E. Perhaps the best single example of Stormer's combined use of distortion and faulty documentation to prove his point is contained on page 216. Stormer seeks to show that the United States is deliberately keeping Communist countries from collapsing. To answer the question of why this is allegedly taking place, Stormer says: "The answer was provided by another CFR member, Dr. Lincoln P. Bloomfield in an official study entitled 'a world effectively controlled by the United Nations.' It was prepared on a contract with the State and Defense Departments in 1962. In it Dr. Bloomfield discloses, perhaps unwittingly, why U.S. planners consistently aid world communism. He says, '° ° ° if the Communist dynamic was greatly abated, the West might lose whatever incentive it has for world government.' That is the answer. If American aid were stopped, the Communist empire would likely collapse."

Here Stormer first prepares the reader to believe that

the views expressed in the report represents the thinking of our Government by terming the report "official" and pointing out that it was written under contract with the State and Defense Departments. The title page of this document, however, bears the following clear disclaimer:

"The judgments expressed in the study memorandum are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Defense Analysis or of any agency of the U.S. Government."

The same disclaimer is contained in the foreword by IDA Associate Director of Research James E. King, Jr.

This document is a highly theoretical 38-page study which attempts to envision how and under what conditions the U.N. might be transformed into a world government, and to postulate the type of military and other power such a government would need in order to operate effectively. The author expresses no views regarding the desirability of such a development.

The full statement from which Stormer quotes his sentence is as follows:

"On any count it is unsafe to assume that the ideological and power struggle between communism and the West will not continue indefinitely. This assumption of course throws into question any program requiring that both sides subordinate to a supernational authority themselves, their power and their ambitions. This is the central dilemma of world politics today, and it applies with ultimate force to the proposition of world government. The logical trap is completed with the familiar paradox: Given a continuation unabated of Communist dynamicism, the subordination of states to a true world government appears impossible; but if the Communist dynamic were greatly abated the West might well lose whatever incentive it has for world government." (P.12.)

And so, Stormer wrenches a single sentence out of context from an unofficial report, intended to explore the possibility, not the desirability of world government and attempts to use it as documentation that communism would collapse without American aid. The full quotation from which the sentence is taken points out that world government is impossible so long as the Communist dynamic remains unabated while, paradoxically, if it were not to so continue, the West might lose its incentive for world government. The issue of American aid to Communist countries is, of course, not even mentioned in this report.

A more flagrant and dishonest misuse of quoted material would be hard to imagine.

8. Chapter 14, entitled "What Can You Do?" urges the reader to join such organizations as the John Birch Society, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.

The emphasis of all these organizations is upon the alleged control by Communists of America's political, religious, civic, educational, and judicial institutions as well as of our press, radio, and television. This chapter also urges the reader to subscribe to various rightwing publications, one of which he designates as a "Catholic publication" and another of which is designated as a "Protestant publication." The one designated as a Protestant publication is the "Christian Beacon" whose director is the Reverend Carl McIntire, founder of the militantly anti-Catholic American Council of Christian Churches. In September 1945, the "Christian Beacon" said that Roman Catholicism is the "greatest enemy of freedom and liberty that the world has to face today" and that "one would be much better off in a Communist society than in a Roman Catholic Fascist setup."

The items contained in this report by no means constitute an exhaustive study or research into the statements or documentation of Stormer's "None Dare Call It Treason." Since the National Committee for Civic Responsibility is prohibited from taking any position on issues and must restrict itself only to those areas which advocate violence or engage in calumny, only 43 items have been checked by this committee. The discrepancies outlined in this report reflect only those items which were uncovered in the process of checking those 43 documentary references.

9. In dishonestly seeking to undermine the confidence of the American public in our schools, churches, universities, newspapers, TV, and radio as well as in our Government agencies and top officials, Stormer seems to be doing the Devil's work as outlined earlier by Senator KUCHEL.

Stormer's pretensions to scholarship and documentation might easily deceive many high-minded and intelligent but largely inexperienced people and undermine their patriotism by creating doubts about our political, social and economic system.

To the average reader, his documentation seems impressive and few will take the time to discover for themselves that it cannot withstand even the most cursory examination.

The nature of the *Congressional Record* and testimony before congressional committees being what they are, surely research would have provided Stormer with accurate references which would tend to concur with whatever assertion he wishes to make. That Stormer did not even bother to do such research and so led any careful reader directly to material which refutes his allegations, would seem to presuppose that he did not write the book for the careful or well-informed reader. For the very nature of some of Stormer's charges would insure that such a reader would check the documentation and, once that is done, Stormer's game is up.

The many and obvious distortions of fact, historical and otherwise, are not within the province of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's concern, but since this is done to prove a pattern of treason within the United States, some examples would seem to be in order.

A. Stormer states on page 55 that Laotian Prince Boun Oum was the "legal head of the anti-Communist Government of Laos" in 1962 and that he "was ordered (by the United States) to give Communists key positions in his cabinet."

The truth is that Boun Oum was not the legal head of the Laotian Government; that, in fact he attempted to

overthrow the legal head of that government — neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma — and failed. As a result of the attempted coup, Communist forces counterattacked and Phouma joined forces with them. The result was that Oum was badly defeated and the coalition government restored with Phouma at the head and neutralists predominating the cabinet which also included some of Boun Oum's representatives and Communist representatives.

Today, with the Communist seeking to take control, Phouma has joined forces with the rightist elements to preserve his government, Stormer, seeking to make his point, lumps neutralist and Communist cabinet members together when, since they are now fighting each other, they are obviously not on the same side.

B. Stormer, page 74: "In 9 months an estimated 8 million packages of Communist propaganda material from Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Red China were imported in the United States. Placed in the U.S. mail, American taxpayers paid the postage for delivering the Red propaganda to schools, churches, homes and libraries all over the Nation." (*Congressional Record*, Mar. 1, 1962, p. 2828.)

No such information is contained in the *Congressional Record* of that date. On page 3174, in a report entitled "Report of American Bar Association Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives" (pp. 3170-3176), inserted into the *Record* by Senator DIRKSEN, the statement is made that "Communists are spending \$3 billion a year on propaganda which is reaching every city and hamlet in our Nation. In one day Communist propaganda coming through New York City alone fills three large warehouses. This propaganda comes not only from Russia, but also from Red China, from Iron Curtain countries, and from Western Europe. Much additional Red propaganda is published in the United States by Communist publishers."

On page 3108, second column, under title "Subsidizing Soviet Propaganda in the U.S. Mails," Representative CUNNINGHAM, of Nebraska, complains of three booklets sent out by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. He says it was sent at the special subsidized third-class bulk rate and went to Adams Public Library (Adams, Nebr.) for only 7 cents. Amendment to the postal bill would make it first-class mail and make Reds pay 51 cents to send it. He charged that at third-class rates, U.S. taxpayers subsidize it.

These are the only references to this topic in the *Congressional Record* of that date. Nothing is said about 8 million packages or about sending anything at the U.S. taxpayers' expense other than Representative CUNNINGHAM's charge concerning pamphlets that were sent at third- rather than first-class mail.

C. Reference 29 in chapter 8, in which Time magazine is accused of lying about the affiliations of Gustavo Duran in order to discredit Senator Joseph McCarthy, refers to the *Congressional Record* for November 14, 1951. Congress was not in session on November 14, 1951, consequently, there is no *Record* for that date.

In summary, the subject book is, at best, an incredibly poor job of research and documentation, and, at worst, a deliberate hoax and a fraud. This conclusion has been reached without giving any consideration whatsoever to those things which Stormer presents as a matter of his own opinion or that of others. Matters of that kind must properly be left to partisan debate.

For the National Committee for Civic Responsibility:

HAL STEIGMAN,
Executive Secretary.

Other Comments

Chicago Tribune on "None Dare Call It Treason"

"None, that is except the author, who sees the fruits of communist-directed treason in almost every facet of contemporary American life . . ."

—on "A Texan Looks at Lyndon"

"A phantasmagoric diatribe in which President Johnson's name is linked with everything from vote theft to mysterious deaths. To the careful reader of either liberal or conservative persuasion, however, the author reveals far more about himself than about his subject."

A Study of Unhospitalized Paranoia

**A. C. GREENE, BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
DALLAS TIMES-HERALD**

WHETHER or not one believes the 7 million copy sales figure reported for the book, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon",—there is no doubt it is the most widely read piece of literature in the Southwest.

Written by J. Evetts Haley, of Canyon, it is an attack on Lyndon Johnson which goes far beyond political license, gossip or even the necessities of righteous rage. Haley is a historian with some excellent writing to his credit, but he deserts historical principles and takes up personal hatred as his guide for "A Texan Looks at Lyndon." It is so outrageously, surreptitiously wrong that it is almost impossible to isolate the heavy, sick aura of wrongness and define it.

The result is a book which will appall decent men of good will even those who severely oppose Johnson the man and the President. The only fit word I can find for it is evil.

Haley bases his stories on three levels of documentation. Some are legitimate, reliable sources (although even here one must cautiously inspect the interpretation he gives them). The well documented stories are the well known facts, good and bad, about Lyndon Johnson and if the book relied on them for its basis it would be just another book.

A second level of sources to support a vaguer, darker kind of story resorts to such documentation as the *Dan Smoot Report*, columnist Walter Trohan and *Human Events* magazine, which few unbiased persons would regard as "disinterested."

But the most lucrative "authorities" Haley appears to use are rumor, presumption and the evil make-believe of suspicion. And this is the meat and blood; this is what makes the book sensational. Haley, once he has presented a lurid piece of information with "it was rumored" or "many persons believe," then goes on to base further assumptions on this scrap, offering, time after time, a colossally shocking inference — but never reminding the reader that the whole foundation of the shock was questionable.

Page 109 is a mere example. After a pointless episode which patently causes the reader to link Johnson with an Austin murder, one encounters: "There is a presistent but COMPLETELY UNCONFIRMED STORY that Mrs.

Johnson owned one-fourth interest in the giant war-time Sid Richardson Carbon Black plant . . . picked up from the government at a small fraction of its cost through the political management of Johnson and John Connally."

Then, referring to an \$800,000,000 Moroccan air base scandal, "there was NOT MUCH DOUBT in anybody's mind that the responsibility could largely be laid on Lyndon B. Johnson."

On Page 114, writing about Billie Sol Estes, "It (the public) SUSPECTED the proven master of political maneuver, Johnson, of not only being involved but of having killed the senatorial investigation." From that point a whole stream of pages go on to build on the assumption that L. B. J. was behind, beside and in front of Billie Sol — even making a referential link with murders again.

"Certain strange IF NOT SIGNIFICANT stories keep popping up . . ." (P. 114).

"Bobby Kennedy WAS SUSPECTED of being in daily touch with Judge Barron, and evidently decided the government had trouble enough . . ." (P. 136).

On page 145 begins: "The story got out that it (Johnson's plane) had first flown to Midland, where it was parked away from the terminal and closely guarded . . . while two men were escorted to it and stayed for an hour . . ." then in a new paragraph this "story that got out" suddenly becomes a report:

"In time the report of the Midland flight and the strange and secret conference leaked out" and by the second paragraph, this flat statement concludes: "The two men who had . . . spent the hour with Vice-President Johnson — they had been seen and identified as Billie Sol Estes and one of his lawyers."

The whole book is such a forest of "And some experienced observers believe . . ." (P. 199) or "Johnson is reported to have . . ." (P. 194) and "Gossip used to point to . . ." (P. 235) that it becomes less an indictment of Lyndon Johnson (who seems to disappear into the incredible fairyland of conspiracy, murder and connivance) than an incredibly erroneous view of a totally corrupt land where all public officials, their relatives, friends and business contacts, are living sinister, Machiavellian careers from which no one is safe. A more candid subtitle might be, "A Study of Unhospitalized Paranoia."

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A WRITER

Continued from Page 9
at the last meeting was particularly concerned with church subversion in his suburban community which had resulted in the "corrupted" church trying to cast aspersions on some of the good Americanist work in which his local Junior Chamber of Commerce was engaged.)

UNTIL the last meeting, my chief emotion was one of unreality, of a wonderland filled with Queens of Hearts shouting "What did he say? Off with his head!" Because I spent all my time with Birch people, reading Birch material, I began to have a vision of the nightmare in which an ultraconservative lives: a nightmare in which the ground beneath your feet is shifting sand, in which you begin to feel menaced by things you cannot see clutching at you out of the darkness. It is a world filled with uncertainty, a world of looking at people you have known all your life and asking "but is he really what he seems to be?" It is a world surrounded by enemies — and you can never really be sure of your friends. It is a world filled with active malignancy and monstrous conspiracy, in which every newspaper and magazine article, every television program, can be interpreted as one more example of the Communist network surrounding you.

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sight. I was saturated with the eeriness of my contacts, the shadowy world of lowered voices, furtive glances, and the "internal menace" of the "Communist conspiracy." Their fear is not paranoia; the propaganda is there. Their world, artificially constructed by false prophets, is real. What they hear and read day by day is convincing by the enormity of the half-lies used. They are manipulated, afraid, rebellious. Into this world walks Robert Welch, who says "Give me your hand, your absolute loyalty, and your unquestioning faith, for I am the only man who can lead you out of this swamp."

For this is the real core of the Birchite: he is, in his way, a "religious" convert, and Robert Welch is to them a major prophet.

And Welch, like his followers, is totally dedicated.

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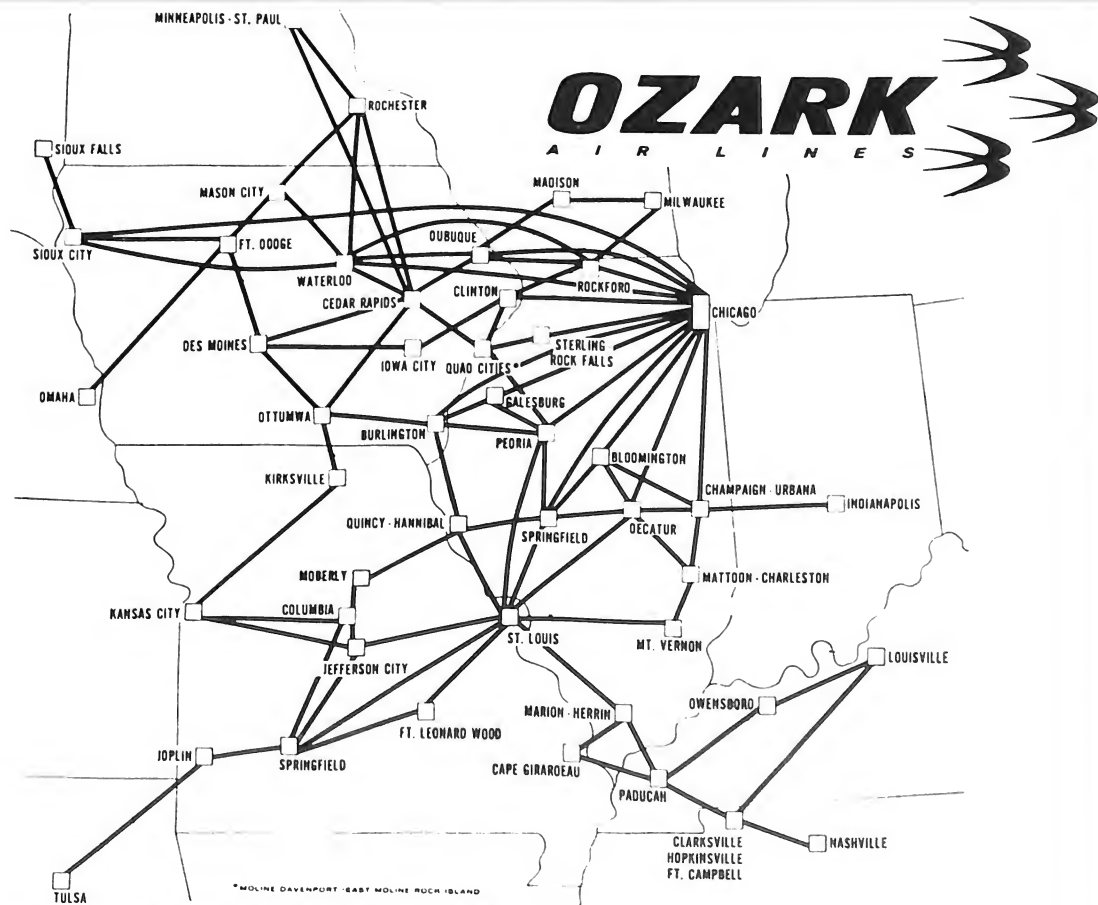
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